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THE
Syracusan Tyrant:

OR,
THE LIFE
OF
AGATHOCLES.

With some Reflexions on
the practices of our
Modern Usurpers.

Ἄνδρ' ὅς τ' ἀνάντις ἀρχῆς τις, ἢ βίας, ἢ δὴ δόξῃ
τοῦτο ἢ τυραννίς. Arist. Pol. l. 5. c. 10.

*The most High ruleth in the Kingdome of men,
and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and set-
teth over it the Basest of men. Dan. 4. 17.*

L O N D O N,
Printed by J. F. for R. Royston, Book-
seller to his most Sacred Majesty.
M D C L X I.



To the Right Honourable


T H O M A S

Earl of

SOUTHAMPTON,

Lord High **TREASURER**
of *England*, Lord **WARDEN**
of the New Forest, Knight
of the most noble Order of
the Garter, and one of his
Majesties most Honourable
Privy Council,

My Lord,

 O open the Grave of an
Impious Tyrant, and to
revive the memory of his
detestable Villanies, may be censured
as a design to infect the present
A 2 Age,

The Epistle

Age, and to instruct by an accur-
sed Example those who want onely
the Arts, not the desires, of do-
ing Mischief. But if the unhappy
Issues of such perverse Counsels can-
not secure this History from such
an Effect, (to which even the Sacred
Stories and the most wholesome Laws
are obnoxious through the Corruptions
of men, whereby they imitate that
which is proposed to their Hatred,
and follow Their Practices whose In-
fames they abhorre, and whose Ruines
they tremble at;) yet the Compiler
hopes by the Dedication of it to Your
Honour to free himself from such
suspicions. It being not to be supposed,
that He intends to teach, but to dis-
cover the Impostures of Tyrants, and
to warn the Credulous world to arm
themselves against those Monsters, who
presumes

Dedicatory.

presumes upon the Patrociny of so great an Assertor of Piety and Justice. For (My Lord) neither the Nobility of Your Family nor the Plenty of Your Fortune have so much commended You to the Admiration of men, as Your inflexible zeal to Righteousness and Truth. This was that which drew You forth to follow that Court in Persecution and Danger, whose Honours and Pleasures in times of Peace could not allure You from Your Retirements. And Your uncorrupted Faith to that Righteous Cause wherein all Just Government was concerned, I have heard force from the Adversaries of it an Elogie not beneath that which the brave Fabricius by his Vertue wone from his Enemy, that The Sun might sooner forsake his

The Epistle

course then My Lord of Southam-
pton depart from Justice. So that
when the Popular Fury had over-
whelmed the greatest part of our
Nobles in contempt, the Chiefs of
that Faction testified an Observance
almost Religious to You, as to an In-
violable Sanctuary of true Nobility
and Honour. And they seemed to
treat Your Lordship as the Conque-
ring Romans did the Captive
Gods, whom, even while they chai-
ned, they did supplicate with Sa-
crifices to remove to their triumphing
City: so while they restrained Your
Liberty, and invaded Your Rights,
they did even then with a solicitous
Reverence court Your approbation
of their successful Crimes. But as
Your Lordship despised their in-
juries, so You slighted their cares-
ses.

Dedicatory.

ses. And though You seemed unconcerned in their Oppressions, yet I have seen Your Indignation then swell'd high, when they profaned Justice by pretensions to it, and blasphemed Religion by imputing their Impieties to the ducts of the Immaculate Spirit and just Providence of God. As these Vertues, My Lord, are Your Glory, so I humbly crave they may be my Protection: And that as I was confirmed and heightned in a detestation of Unjust Usurpers by Your great Example, so under the shelter of Your Honourable Name I may endeavour to render them Odious to others. Since, that the Wicked should be exposed to the Publick Hatred, as that the Good should be rewarded with all that affection which

The Epistle, &c.

is due to the Benefactors of Mankind, is equally the Interest of Vertue. All whose concernments being so dear to Your Lordship, that God, as well for His own Glory as for the advantages of Good men, may long continue You as a Light in this perverse Generation, and prosper all Your Counsels, is the constant prayer of

My Lord,

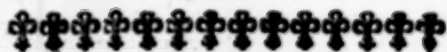
Your Honours

most humble and

most faithful

Servant,

R. P.



THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE miseries which Tyrants usually bring upon that unhappy people who, by impatience of a Just Government, and by their seditious attempts upon their Lawful Prince, have exposed themselves to the *Cheats*, and are at last inflaved by the *Power* of such Ambitious Persons, cease not with their Lives, but are extended to the following Age, and are apt to vex the next Generations. For although the Rapines and Murders (which are not the greatest unhappineffes of the Oppressed Vassals) may possibly end with the
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The Preface

the Empire of the Usurper ; yet those debaucheries of the Spirits of Men , and the unquiet principles of Villany (the most ignominious brands of Slavery) which they introduced both to acquire and preserve their Greatness, survive their Authours, and like Venome infect the blood , when the Viper is kill'd that gave the wound. Hence comes it to pass that such a People, though freed from the Force of their Oppressour, yet tenacious of his Crimes, debauched by impious Habits, and distracted with various Factions, can never conspire to their common Peace and Safety ; nor with patience submit to those who would restore them the Benefits of Society and Government. Our Age hath had too fresh an Experience of this : for the Methodis of Tyranny having been acted with so much Industry, and continued with so great Success among us, though we are now (through the benignity of Heaven) in the enjoyment of all safe Liberty that is consistent with Government , and which
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to the Reader.

can be hoped for from a Just and Lawful Prince; yet have not men parted with those Principles of Confusion and Ruine which the Tyrants did impress, but like Waves that have been tossed with a Tempest, find no Calm, though the wind be down that first raised them.

The method of curing such a distempered Multitude is, to shew the Arts of their *Impostors*, and to discover that what was obtruded upon them as the Oracles of Heaven, or as the generous dictates of Free Souls, were but the accustomed cheats of former Tyrants, newly proposed to an Ignorant and Credulous Generation. No discovery comes with more Evidence upon Vulgar spirits (who cannot weigh the force of Reason,) then that which is made by Example: Like the *Spartan* Discipline, who to preserve their Youth (on whom Philosophical discourses would have made but small impression) from Intemperance, presented them with the Indecencies of their drunken *Helots*. And *Menenius* did

The Preface

did retrieve the *Roman* Populacy from their Sedition by an Apologue, which is but a fictitious Example. Such (Reader) is the design of publishing this Historical Discourse, (which in the composing was intended but as a private Essay) of the Life of a Tyrant; which hath such a conformity with the *Monster* of Our Times, that who reads the actions of the One, cannot but reflect upon the practices of the Other. So that it may seem to confirm the Opinion of those who imagined that All humane affairs had a Circular motion, and that no Age produces any thing so prodigious that may not have its parallel in another. And it would give some credit to the *Pythagorean* Transmigration: for comparing the Arts and Success of Both, in rising from an abject condition to most absolute Sovereignty, and how in Both Tyranny was acted to the height of Injustice, one of that School would fancy that the Soul of *Agathacles*, after several peregrinations through the forms of Tigers, Wolves, Foxes, Harpies

to the Reader.

Harpies and Vultures, with some diversions in humane shapes, as of *Mahomet*, *Borgia*, and such other enemies of Mankind, it had at last vexed the world under the name of
OL. CR.

It would be too great a distrust of the Reader's Judgement to anticipate his thoughts in drawing a Parallel: the disagreements being but few, and those more properly to be referred to the distant Times and Scenes wherein they acted, (to which Both did accommodate their designs) then to any difference in their temper of Spirit or variety of Lusts: Impiety, Perfidiousness and Inhumanity being the equal delights and exercises of either. So that though they coasted different Countries, yet they sailed by the same Compass, and aimed at the same Port of Power and Greatness. In nothing more doth the Ancient seem to exceed the Modern Tyrant than in his Cruelty: yet even this is not imputable to a more tender sense of Humanity in one then the other, (*For he that dares*
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The Preface

sometimes be wicked for his advantage, will be alwaies so if his Interest require) but to a fear of losing the emoluments of that more powerful and prosperous cheat, the pretension to Sanctity; which being to be shadowed with a seeming Meekness, would have been too plainly discoloured by too frequent effusions of blood. But if when we would censure the Crime, we consider not onely the *quantity*, but the *worth* of the Blood, the *Sicilian* will not appear more odious then the other. Since the Blood of a Pious, Just and Lawful KING, spilt with so much dishonour to Religion and contumely to Justice, laies a more heavy guilt in the eyes both of God and Good men then rivers of Plebeian gore. Besides, that horrid *Parricide* inevitably exciting several attempts for Justice, the slaughterers of those brave Souls that endeavour'd it did accumulate the guilt contracted by their Sovereigns Blood. So that the cutting those Royal veins opened such Sluces in all the *British* Empire, that the Earth was not more
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to the Reader.

constantly wet with the showres of Heaven, then it was yearly polluted with the blood of some Loyal person and lover of the People's Rights and Liberties. Blood of this tincture he was observed to drink with a gust; though he was nauseous of that of his own Party: whom, when their divided Interests made them contrive his Ruine, or provok'd his spleen, he used as the *Romans* did their offending Vestals, whose blood, because they were consecrated to the service of their Gods, they never spilt, but inclosed them under ground with some small provisions, that so they might perish without pity and unobserved. So those that had been once consecrated to the *Good Old Cause*, it was unnecessary to take away their Lives, which were hateful, because they had administred to his Grandeur: but degrading them from his trust, and permitting to them some remnants of the spoils of Iniquity, he exposed them to perish in want and obscurity.

In these other Crimes whereby U-
surpers

The Preface

surpers make their way to Dominion, the Wickedness of this Last was more transcendent, and such as made our Bondage more ignominious, and our Miseries more lasting: For not to mention those frequent Perjuries, those horrid Blasphemies of referring all the most damnable Projects to the Impulses of the Spirit and Returns of prayer; Religion never received a more fatal Wound then by this Modern Impostor. For when the Majesty and Reverence of that stood like a strong rampire of Just Authority, and like a mighty stream ran cross to his design; he undermined it by introducing notions agreeable to his Interest, made it contemptible by the basest of the People whom he made Priests, carested every Heresie, raised and increased new Schisms, and so cut it into several chanel and small Rivulets, to make it fordable for his ascent to Dominion: and by proclaiming a Spiritual Liberty, reduced it into so many Atomes, that nothing but what was fortuitous could unite them in a solid body

to the Reader.

body to oppose him. Not content with these injuries to Religion, he proceeded to extirpate those eternal rules of Right and Wrong, which even Nature had impressed upon the Minds of Men. For by his Instruments new Schemes of Justice were composed, new rules of Obedience and Government were framed according to the Institutes of Tyranny. The sacred Religion of an Oath, the foundation of Society even in the most barbarous Nations, was among us published no longer obliging then till an inconvenience ensued. Thus as *Caligula* took off the heads of those Images of the Gods that were most worshipped, and set his own upon them, that he might receive the adorations of the people : so did this Usurper pervert those Oracles of Life, the Laws of God and Nature, that we might receive onely the Dictates of his Lust and Interest, and be guided by the deceitful Impulses of his deluding Spirit.

How far he prevailed by these Arts in vitiating the sense of Religion and

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Justice

The Preface

Justice in men, appeared too evident in the servile Flattery of those *Addres- ses* which were made to his contemptible Successour. In which the Composers by a prodigious Sacriledge having rifled all the Sacred Records, and thence took those attributes of Glory with which as Jewels God had adorned his choicest Servants, and had given them as Odours to embalm their Memories to Posterity, applied them to his successful Wickedness. So that they seemed to have forgotten what Vertue and Righteousness were, when they crowned Impiety with the rewards of Goodness.

And how pregnant the Principles he had acted by were of Destruction, by the just Judgement of Heaven was experienced on his Infamous Issue, they being ruined by the same practices by which himself had destroyed the lawful Government; the Children of his Example destroying those of his Blood; the ministers of the Father's Villanies being the Executioners of the Son's Empire. Nor was
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to the Reader.

the mischievousness of his Arts confined within his own Family, but like an infectious Contagion spread it self over the whole Nation. His Example exciting every bold hand and violent spirit to invade the Government: and his Principles serving to colour the prosperous Invader's Perfidiousness to his supplanted and complaining Predecessours. That Power would they to day despoil and vilifie, with whom it was on their Hearts the day before to Live and Die. What they bewailed yesterday as their Backsliding, to day they would practise as their Saint-like Obedience to the Call of God. So that by reason of these different Actings, sometime as Men, and another as Saints, like creatures of various elements, there was no faith among themselves, nor constancy in their Wickedness, but varying their Crimes, and together with their Guilt increasing our Miseries, the Sun seldome rose but he saw the ruines of that Government which he had left at his setting, and the erection of a new. And Peace

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The Preface

and Quietness were set at such a distance from our hopes, that they could not be expected but after a Desolation.

Then which effects though nothing could be more convincing of the destructiveness of such Principles and Practices, that they neither proceeded from God, who is the Authour of Order and Government, nor agreed with Justice, which is the preservative of Peace: yet because they so impudently pretended to an Extract from Heaven, and seemed to be owned by it in an uninterrupted Success against a Lawful Sovereign, and are still importunately urged by Persons of no just hopes, and whose broken Interests are impatient of a calm; they are as yet received by some deluded Souls as Oracles, and as the sober dictates of right Reason; and the mischievous Consequences are reputed the deprivations of the Actors, not the legitimate Issues of the Principles. But as the Divine Records do vindicate the Immaculate Purity of God (from whom nothing proceeds which doth not make
men

to the Reader.

men happy in obedience to it) from having any benigne influence on such destructive counsels, and right Reason doth free Justice from any alliance with such wicked practices: so the History of all Ages will testifie that these have been the artifices of Ambitious persons, who seeking a criminal Greatness, have devested themselves of all sense of Vertue, do by these waies delude and distract the minds of men, that so being weakned by their own Factions, and disarmed by vitious habits, they may more easily be oppressed by them. And this History of *Agathocles*, transmitted to posterity by *Diodorus Siculus* and *Justin* (from whom it was gathered) will evidently shew, That the usual Method of overthrowing an ancient Government established by Law, is to slander the actions and counsels of the present Magistrate, That those that have the extremest Tyranny in projection, will be the greatest pretenders of the Publick good, and the most importunate assertors of the People's Rights; That it is the most compendious way of imposing Sla-

The Preface

very, by raising in the Multitude too eager and passionate desires of Liberty; That in a corrupted and disquiet State, the most Contemptible member of that Community may without the help of a Miracle arise to Sovereignty; That it is not the Indulgence of Heaven to the Usurper, but the Indignation thereof to the People, when Success attends the Tyrants enterprizes; That Power acquired by Fraud or Violence will never be employed in the exercise of Justice.

These therefore being the onely fruits that are to be expected from the unquiet Principles and deluding hopes which designing Demagogues infect the People with; Wise men have constantly advised that even the Vices of Bad Princes are to be born with the like Patience as we endure Dearth and Tempests, and other deviations of Nature from her usual course. And this not to flatter Offending Kings, (who at a most dreadful Tribunal are accountable for their disobediences to their Eternal Superiour) but in affection to mankind, and pity of the de-
ceivable

to the Reader.

ceivable Multitude. Because though Princes, as they are Men, may be Vicious, yet as such are not Immortal, and a Pious Successour may repair all the ruines of a former Oppressour. But when the People will usurp the Office of Heaven, whose Prerogative it is to chastise Kings, and to cut off the Fury of Princes, and they themselves will correct their lawful Magistrates, God most severely punishes them by suffering the basest of men to ride over their heads. And the Primitive Christians thought it not onely their *Duty*, but their *Prudence*, by prayers and tears onely to seek the deliverance of Heaven from the injuries of a Governour, rather then by opposing their lawful Sovereign to administer to a Tyrants Ambition, who, according to that *Maxime, of changing all things that were under the former Governour*, must deface Religion to maintain his Power, and on the dishonour of Piety build his Greatness.

We have had experience of the Anger of Heaven for our Sins, in giving

The Preface

us over to the delusions of men, who sought and acquired Power by slandering a *PRINCE* whose most Eminent Worth we understood not, till our ignorance had made Him and us miserable. Which Power being so impiously got, was not otherwise used: For the Treasures and Ornaments of many Ages Peace were wasted and consumed by their Oppressions in a few years. And we are now under the return of Mercy by a Lawful Sovereign. Both Conditions may teach us to measure the Benefits and Inconveniences of Government as they are in their own nature: and not by the sinister interpretations and seditious Harangues of Unquiet persons, who will calumniate even the justest Rulers and the wisest Counsels. And if the discovery of the methods of Tyranny, which is made in this History, may contribute any thing to effect a just hatred of such practices, or establish sober Minds in a thankful acquiescence in that Gracious Providence which hath restored our ancient Government,

to the Reader.

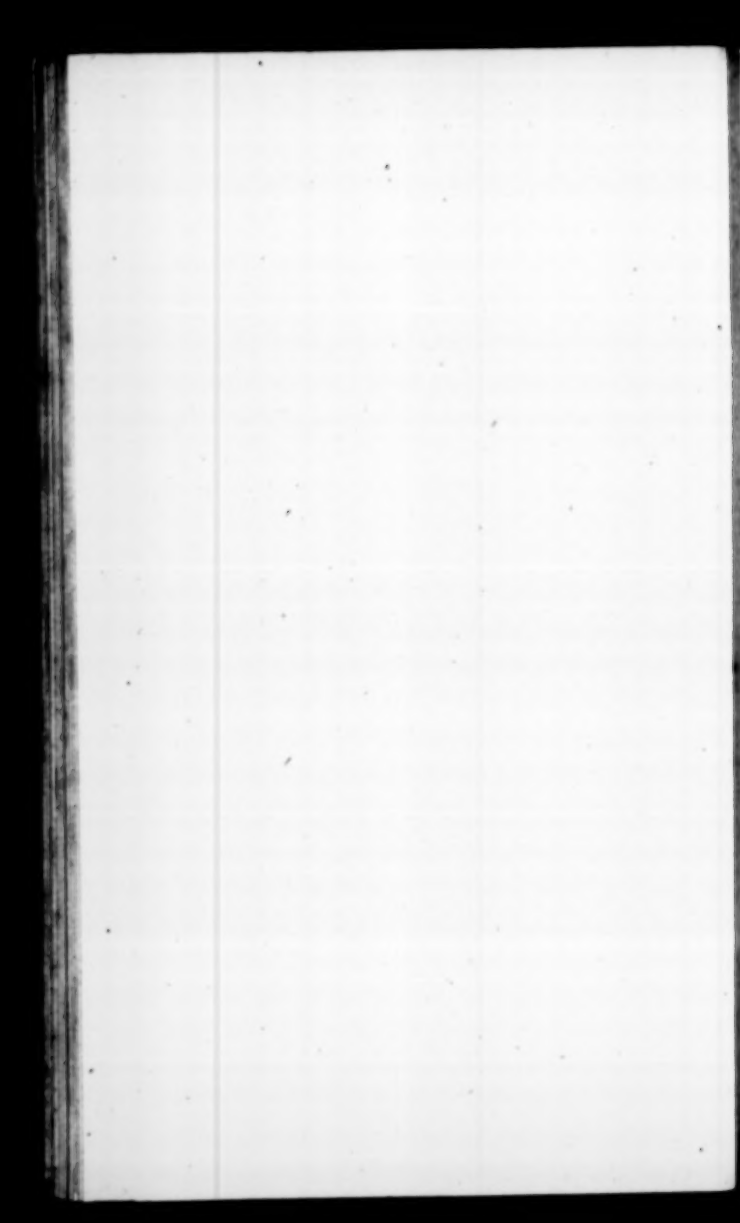
vernment, and given us a Prince instructed both by Affliction and Mercy in the best arts of Empire; the Compiler hath attained his chiefest ends.

Farewell.

ERRATA.

P. Ag. s. l. 13. r. *hating*. p. 18. l. 5. r. *for*. p. 89. l. 12. r. *for*.
p. 113. l. 6. r. *councils*. p. 185. l. 14. r. *impress*. p. 201.
l. 3. r. *provoke*. p. 234. l. 16. r. *Ambican*.

T H E



T H E
General CONTENTS
of the several BOOKS.

L I B. I.

TH E Introduction. The necessity of Government. The causes of the Changes of Government. The Miseries that attend those Changes. Occasions to Usurpers. The requisites of an Usurper. A Tyrant in Title will be a Tyrant in Exercise. Agathocles an Example of Usurpers. Agathocles's Birth, the prediction of his Cruelty and Greatness. The uncertain Original of such Predictions. Agathocles's abject beginnings, baser Youth, and infamous introduction into employment. His Seditious practices cause a change of Government at Syracuse. His flight from thence, and vain attempts for Tyranny abroad. His return home, and another change of Government. His exploits in his Command. The City's

The Contents.

City's Fealouſie of him, and his Banishment. His War againſt Syracuſe. Amilcar reconciles him to his City, and they revoke his Banishment. He practiſes the arts of a Demagogue: gets the office of Prator, and Keeper of the Liberty of Syracuſe. His plot to get an Army fit for his purpoſe, by whom he maſſacres all the Senate and chief Citizens. By diſſimulation he prevails upon his associates in the Maſſacre, to force the Principality upon him. The Sicilians confederate againſt the Tyrant. Acrotatus, choſen General of the League, by his Vices overthrowes the enterprize. Agathocles deſigns the Empire of all Sicily: by fraud ſeizeth upon Meſſene. The Exiles ſend an Embaſſy to Carthage. The Death of Amilcar. Agathocles's ſucceſſ againſt the Exiles.

The Contents.

LIB. II.

THE Carthaginian War. Amilcar the son of Gisgo chosen General, who by his wise conduct restores and heals the losses of his shipwreckt Army, and raises up the hopes of the Sicilians to be delivered from Agathocles, who had surprized Gela, and murdered the Citizens, and afterward fighting Amilcar is overthrown. His counsel of transferring the War into Africk. His preparations for that design. The difficulties of getting forth of the Haven. An Eclipse frights his Army, which he dexterously interprets: gets safe to the shore of Africk, where he burns his Ships. The Punick Fleet gather up the beaks of his Vessels, and send them with the news to Carthage, which before was terrified with the affrighted relations of the Africans. They chuse two Generals to oppose the Sicilians. The Reason of such a choice. They fight Agathocles, and are overthrown. The Carthaginians refer
their

The Contents.

their loss to their angry Gods, whom they endeavour to appease; send for aid from Amilcar, who in vain besieges and assaults Syracuse when the news came of the Tyrants Victory. Who wins more upon the Carthaginians, while Amilcar intending to storm Syracuse is taken and kill'd. His baffled Army divides, and the Agrigentines aspire at the Empire of the Island. The Tyrant's Army dangerously mutinies, which he luckily appeases, and turns their fury upon the Enemy, whom he also follows and beats in Numidia. He invites Ophellas to the War, and basely murders him. Bomilcar attempting the Tyranny at Carthage miscarries, and is crucified. Agathocles assumes the title of a King, and masters the Uticenses by an inhumane Stratageme.

The Contents.

L I B. III.

Agathocles returns to Sicily, to obstruct the Success of the Free League, against which he thrives, till Dinocrates declares himself for it, who forces the Tyrant to retreat. His fortune declines in Africk; his Army beaten and besieged. Agathocles preparing to return thither gets two Victories: under the pretence of a Thanksgiving for which, he discovers and murders all that he could not confide in at Syracuse. Afterwards he sails to Africk, where all was desperate. From whence, after some vain attempts, a strange Terror of his Army, and his own Imprisonment, he basely flies back to Sicily, leaving his two Sons to the fury of his deserted Army: who when they had slain them, make Peace with the Carthaginians. The Tyrant landing in Sicily, destroyes Egesta; commands another Massacre at Syracuse. Pasiphilus revolts from him; which frights him into a Treaty with Dino-

The Contents.

Dinocrates, in which he offers to relinquish the Tyranny. The Treaty not taking effect, he fights the Army of the League, and by treachery overthrows them, and murders seven thousand that did surrender upon composition. He receives Dinocrates into favour, and employs him. He takes away the consecrated Treasure at the Isle of Lipara, invades the Brutii, and is beaten; surprizes Croton; associates with Pirates, and confederates with Demetrius, by whom he is perswaded to renew his War with Carthage. He is prevented by death, through the Conspiracy of Mænon and Archagathus his Grandchild, because he had made his younger Son Agathocles his Successour in the Tyranny. Mænon poisons the Old Tyrant, and Archagathus kills the Young one. His Tortures, End, and Character. The state of Syracuse after his Death.

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THE
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 OR,
 The Life of
 AGATHOCLES.

LIB. I.

THE security and comforts of humane life consist in *Society*. *Society* cannot be preserved without *Order*. For although by it men are secured from a foreign force, yet in it are they subject to intestine injuries; and when Necessity makes no warre abroad, Ambition and Covetousness will raise some at home. (These being so impetuous and restless

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affections in the breasts of men, that they never leave them, even after the largest acquisitions.) For man naturally is greedy of every thing, yet so weak that he can acquire but few: so that the desire being too great for the power of acquisition, there arises a dissatisfaction with the present condition, when it is secure, and an endeavour of altering it, though with the ruine of another's fortune. This immoderate desire in some men of more than they have, produces a fear in others of losing what they doe enjoy; and from both these arise Jealousies, Enmities and Injuries, which in the issue undermine Societie, and render it more dangerous then Solitude, and make Communities of men more obnoxious to ruine then herds of Beasts. Therefore *Order* must set bounds to some mens Lusts, and fences for the security of others.

Order cannot be observed without *Govern-ment*, which is the Intrusting some persons with the care and power of maintaining this *Order*. And that it may the more effectually attain its End, Heaven hath declared it as its own Institution, and impressed upon it the lustre of Divine Authority. But as Pearls, though they have their Original from the dew of Heaven, yet must be formed and solidated in the Sea and the wombe of a Shell-fish, which as it is more or less disposed by Nature for such a production,

duction, renders the Jewels proportionably great and orient: So *Government*, though it derives its extract from a Divine Institution, yet because it is to be managed by Men which are subject to Corruption, doth often prove too uncertain a guard for so great a treasure as is the publick good and common safety. Because the Trustees of this power may either through the depravedness of their affections distort it to the satisfaction of their private lusts; or by an imprudent menage, give umbrages of suspicion that they will pervert it to the common ruine. So that such impotent persons being in Government, bewitched with the sweetness of Command, and passionate to enlarge or preserve that power in the unlawful exercise thereof, make frequent invasions upon the Liberty of others. And those that are under Government, pinched with the difficulties of obeying such unequal Commands, and labouring to keep their liberty entire, strive to extend it even to Licence, till it becomes inconsistent with Government. Hence arise Discontents, Jealousies, and Changes of Government, which to sick minds, like the turnings in bed to sick bodies, are hoped for remedies: and what men cannot find under one kind of *Magistracy*, they will seek in another; and therefore do either contract or enlarge the subject of their trust of Power, according to the sense of their present Grievances.

If a Community at first, either by Choice or Necessity, are united under one Head in a *Monarchy*, while He or his Successors intend the publick good for which they were designed, the memorie of their first Institution and the sense of the present Benefits provoke from their Subjects (not corrupted with too much Felicity, nor debauched with the subtle Slanders which Seditious persons cast on their Prince) a Veneration next to that which is due to Heaven; an Universal Love and a delight to obey being the constant Returns to their Cares and Hazards for the publick Security. But because all worldly things are in a continual Motion, and there is either a progress to perfection in that which is good, or else a precipitate declination to evil, and *men are most easily corrupted in the supremest Fortunes, where Lusts may have the advantage of being armed with Power*: such as received the highest Command as a reward of Vertue either in themselves or Ancestors, do sometimes abuse it to license the most horrid Crimes; imagining Rapines, Adulteries and Capricious of Power the rewards of Principality, wherein they onely receive but a fading Pleasure, and leave to their Subjects a perpetual sense of Loss and Dishonour. Hence comes it to pass, that those who by Vertuous Practices might have maintained the reputation of Earthly Gods, by these wicked Courses degenerating beneath the nature of Beasts,

Beasts, become hateful and terrible to mankind.

Hate and Fear are alwaies pregnant with Conspiracies. Conspiracies that prove successfull (for otherwise they advantage him whom they design to ruine) are soonest formed and most dexterously managed, not by such as are fearful and weak, but by persons of generous spirits and active Souls, who are most tenderly sensible of injuries, and most impatient under them. These being exalted above the rest of the injured Multitude by the greatness of their Minds, and made more powerful to accomplish the design by the riches of their Patrimonies, the liberality of their Education, and the Nobility of their Families, become the Chiefs of the Community for Security, and Revenge on their unjust *Monarch*. He being extinguished, the People translate the Reverence which before they were wont to pay to a single Prince, on these persons whom they look upon as their Deliverers.

These having the Government of a single Person, and fearing the return of the same Miseries from another *Monarch*, or else pleased with the present Adorations of the Multitude, do retain the Government among themselves, which seated in such and so many persons is called *Aristocracy*. These in their beginnings bound their power with such Laws, as (being

made in the fresh memorie of the former Tyrannie) appear very tender of the Common liberty, and preferre the Publick to the Private Interest. Which administration of Justice, partly through the Novelty, (which alwaies hath much of the People's hopes,) and partly through the Cares of the New Governours (which are commonly most strict in their first undertakings) to manage all concerns with the most exact moderation, is entertained some time with honour and conformable obedience. But *men seldome use Dignities with the same good arts whereby they acquired them, and assume another heart in the Palace then what they wore in their private families.* So that corruption either assaults their very persons, or in a short time seizeth upon their Successors; who unacquainted with the Instability of Fortune, and insensible of the dismal Consequences of publick Injuries, grew insolent with their present state, discontent with equality, and forming Factions among themselves, reduce all power into a few hands, and change the *Optimacie* into an *Oligarchie*. Thence falling into the debaucheries of the former Tyrant, and their Number making them less tolerable, they incur the same hatred, and meet with the like ruine. For the People haraſſed by so many importunate Oppressors, will soon offer its ministry to any bold hand that will offend their detested Governours. Neither will there

there want unquiet Spirits, that will take advantage of the People's anger and assistance, both to ruin them, and raise themselves in the Popular esteem.

When the *Oligarchie* hath lost that power which they knew not how to use, and the People are free to another choice, the memory of injuries by a Prince being not yet dead, and the brands of slavery by more numerous Tyrants yet fresh, the People are unwilling any more to trust after so many abuses, and therefore reserve the Government in themselves, which then receives the name of *Democratie*. This form of Government after it hath spent that stock of Vulgar affection which is used to be given to every thing in its first beginnings, discovers that they have embraced Licence instead of Liberty; and whereas all Government should be the preservative of Order, this fills all with Confusion. The body of the Society is torn into several Factions, and of one Community it becomes many. The Laws are neither framed nor executed for the publick Utility, but for the advantage of the several parties, each by its course in Magistracie endeavouring to depress the contrary, and elevate it self. In this State, as in routed Armies, every one commands, and none obeys; the most prudent must be directed by those that have no skill to command, and the wisest follow

the dictates of the ignorant rabble; those that are fittest to give the safest counsels, must by a simple obedience be the instruments to perform the decrees of ruine. Heroick Vertues and brave Examples are as dangerous here as under the worst of Tyrants, and both the Love and the Hate of the People are equally dangerous. So that this Government lasts no longer then till the universal calamities (which come speedily) dissolve it; or some ambitious Officer takes from the Multitude that Liberty which they could not long keep; or some discreeter Citizen persuades them to seek for peace and safety in the paths they have forsaken, and to return to Principality again.

These are the usual stages which Government treads; and as the Persons are qualified in each state, it makes the shorter or longer abode. But in every change, as the Sun in his removal to the several Tropicks, leaves the last squallid and deformed with cold and darkness, so *Government leaves the last intrusted with it in ruine and desolation.* And the quicker the motion is, the more pregnant it is with destruction. For Ambulatorie Government is like the Planets which, observation tells us, both at their rising and setting bring Storms and Tempests: so the ruine of the old, and the erection of a new form, wast and tire those unhappy people that live under them. Bad Go-

vernors

verners being like Malignant Spirits, which when they are exorcised torture more eagerly the wretches they are to forsake; and these are industrious to ruine all with their fall, and that an universal flame might be kindled by their Funeral Pile. On the other side, new and hopeful frames of Government, though they are as desirable as Children to less-fruitful wombs, yet, like such, come not into the world without pangs and throes, and sometimes begin their lives with the death of their Authors.

But in nothing are changes and corruptions of Government more noxious to a Community, then in that they are often inlets and occasions to *Usurpation*, administering opportunities to ambitious spirits of usurping Magistracie against the Peoples consent, and contrary to the just pretensions which other Persons may have to the same. For from all these several forms of Government declining to a dissolution; do Tyrannical *Usurpers*, like Prodigies that are generated of Corruption, arise. And when such do prevail and attain to power, that wretched people that are subject to it must expect the worst of miseries which are derived from Impiety and Injustice. For *Usurpers* being the products of such, are, as every thing is to be preserved by its Principles, to be maintained by the same.

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To an *Usurper* no Qualities are more requisite than to contemn God, vilify Mankind, and hate all Religion and Justice. He must know and dare to be exactly wicked, and never intend any good beyond the appearance. He must pretend an affection to Religion, but it must be onely that he may desflower it; not by it to contract a friendship and league with Heaven, but that he may more easily cheat, and execute his malice upon men. Faithfulness and Truth must be esteemed by him as the most dangerous Rocks on which his Power would shipwreck; therefore his Oathes and Promises are like those monstrous Chrymetas, whose upper and more visible parts have an humane and beautiful aspect, but in their extremities become most noxious Prodigies. He permits the pleasures and lovely names of Mercy and Pity to soft souls and just Princes; but neither time, supplications, or satiety, which use to soften others, can mitigate a Tyrants fury, which is raised by his own jealousies: for he must punish Suspitions as manifest Crimes, and circumvent the Innocency of others to cover his own Guilt. He must injure all he fears, and hate all he hath injured.

To those unhappy people whom he hath enslaved, he must endeavour to leave no more then the names and shapes of men, and that their humane bodies be but false harbours for brutish

brutish Souls. If it be possible, he must rase out those principles of *Liberty*, *Virtue* and *Reason*, which Nature hath impress'd on the Spirits of men. For to be Vertuous under a Tyrant is to undermine his Empire, because good Examples upbraid his Weakness, and rebel against the Customes of his Lusts, which he would have as a Law. And Reason hath more light in it then will suffer a Tyrants arts to be undiscovered; therefore he will murder all those whom he cannot corrupt, lest they should be guides and lights for the recovery of Freedom; and secure himself in the next Generation by introducing a barbarous Ignorance, which shall obstruct the waies to Prudence: and by vexing Vertue with ignominy and danger, (as the *Romans* punish'd criminal Virgins, first deflouring them by the hangman, and afterwards strangling them) he extirpates the love of it out of the breasts of men. He interprets Friendship and Love among his vassals as a dangerous Combination, and therefore breaks all the ligaments of a Community which Religion or Nature have formed in it, that he may twist the cords of Bondage stronger. *Religion*, which is the most binding cement of humane affections, he renders weak by its variety: and when the People cannot agree about their *Gods*, they seldome conspire to any publick benefit, or against a Common Enemy, as a Tyrant is. Or else he embuses it with
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the alloy of wicked and abject Principles. Men being seldom more generous than the Deities they worship, and their spirits are but level to their Devotions. *From the Courts of Usurping Tyrants crept those monstrous Idolatries of Calves, Dogs, Cats and Crocodiles.* Their civil and natural unions must be broken also. Publick conventions, where converse creates a familiarity, and that a mutual confidence, as also publick Feasts, which are the sinews of acquaintance, are either wholly forbidden, or made dangerous by his Spies, who are to gather up the loose speeches of men made free by wine and excess, and form the simplicity of Table-talk into compacts of Treason; so that by such treacheries an universal diffidence is created, and members of the same City become as strange to each other, as if they dwelt under the opposite Poles. Nor can a Tyrant be safe, unless he dissolve the private as well as the publick unions. Therefore Wives are bribed with their own dishonour, a licence for a wandering Lust and assurance of Alimony, to betray their Husbands. Sons by too early hopes of Patrimony are solicited to rifle their Fathers cabinets, unlock their secrets, and expose them to the Tyrants bloudie fury. And Servants have a liberty beyond manumission to make their Masters bondmen. For while every house flames with contention, the Usurper may, like *Nero*, securely sing and play. Their
Fortunes

Fortunes must be no better then their Souls; for he must make them poor and needy, that all their cares being employed for necessary subsistence, they may have no leisure to contrive their Liberty. While his *Gabels* waste their goods, he must make Warres to consume their multitude, lest the contemplation of their Number produce a confidence in their strength, to break that power which doth oppress them. For *Tyrants measure not their power by their own force, but by the weakness of their miserable Vassals*. His Instruments of slavery must be such that either have no Reason to dispute, or no Conscience to scruple the most impious Commands, whose Fortunes are made by his spoiles of villany, and whose safety onely depends upon his service. Yet when they have performed his work, he uses them as the *Roman Ediles* did beasts and malefactors in the Theatres, when they would recreate the People in their *Spetacula*, make them accuse and destroy one the other: so they fall with the publick applause whom before he had objected to the publick hate. For their obsequiousness to his lusts cannot secure them from his fury. Because *instruments of great crimes do even with their sight upbraid him that employed them*. Or else he fearing that what they have done for him, they may practise against him, therefore he will serve them as those that killed the Post-horses by which they

they fled, lest others should use them in their pursuit.

These are the Institutes of Tyrannie, which the practices and dictates of former *Usurpers* have transmitted as Oracles religiously to be observed by such whose blinded Souls prefer Power to Vertue, and an ignominious Greatness to the Innocency of a Private life. And under such a Magistrate that shall conceive these as the Reiglements of Empire and Mysteries of State, what can the People expect, but the greatest miseries a Societie can be subject to? To which kind of punishment incensed Heaven most commonly condemns an unquiet people, who corrupted with Plenty, and grown wanton by a long Peace, become impatient of Laws, and discontent with lawful Governours; that when they know not how moderately to use a just Liberty, they might be made sensible of the heaviest Slavery. *Usurpers proving to be the most insupportable Tyrants.* For although a lawful Prince may possibly degenerate into Tyranny; yet hath he no necessity nor incentives to it: because when his own Vertues, or the happy memory of his Ancestors, have commended him to the People's Love, and he enters upon his Dignity with their Consent, he cannot imagine (unless infatuated to destruction) any surer basis for his Power than
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what He first stood upon, the Affections of his Subjects, and the Justice of his Title. But an Usurper that either by force or deceit hath imposed upon them, doth in his very entrance create causes of Hatred in the People, and of Fears in himself: thence flow the contrary desires of Revenge and Security in each other, which are not to be satisfied but by mutual Injuries. And he that wrestles with the People's hate, will find himself as born under the Starke of *Hercules*, who when he had cut off one of the *Hydra's* heads, had his labours renewed by the sudden production of many more: and while a Tyrant seeks to secure himself by injuring one of his suspected Enemies, he will provoke a multitude more eager for his ruine. So that he shall find himself necessitated, if he will keep what he hath wickedly got, to repeat his Crimes, and increase their miseries, till they become incapable of Liberty, stupid under their calamities, and neither desirous nor able to take revenge.

Of the barbarous effects of this kind of Tyrannie no place was evermore sensible then the Island of *Sicity*, a Country continually teeming with these Monsters, who endeavouring to enslave their Cities, and perpetuate their Dominion, made that Island the Thea-

tre

tre of Misery and Villany. And among all those plagues of mankind and disturbers of Society, whose acts Antiquity hath transmitted to posterity, none have their memories branded with more eternal marks of Infamy than *Agathocles*, whose bloody Artifices and execrable practices to raise himself from an abject and base condition to an absolute Sovereignty, and from being the most contemptible part of a Community to arrive at such a power as to trample upon the Liberties of his City, made the Ancient Historians never mention him without the Title of *The most Impious*. And *Machiavel*, the modern Critick of Policy and grand Instructor of Tyranny, singles him out of the whole Herd of antique Monsters as the singular Patern of Tyranny, and Example of such that by Injustice and Impiety will acquire Principality: in whose ascent to Greatness he acknowledgeth no advantage by Vertue, nor any favourable assistance from Fortune; but that all his Power was the sole product of a monstrous Wickedness, which will appear in this History of his Life.

Agathocles

 **AGATHOCLES** the *Syracusan* Tyrant was the son of *Carcinus*, a native of *Rhegium*, a City in *Italy*; who being banish'd from thence, had seated himself at *Therma*, one of the Cities in *Sicily* that were then under the Dominion of the *Carthaginians*. Where taking to Wife one of the Citizens daughters, and she having conceived by him, he was continually disquieted in his sleep with horrid dreams concerning the child his Wife was then pregnant with. To put an end to these terrors, and to be assured from the Gods what the issue should be of what his Dreams did but confusedly and imperfectly represent, there was presented to him this opportunity. The *Carthaginian* Commander in *Sicily* was at that time dispatching some Embassadors to the Oracle at *Delphos*, to enquire of the Event of some publick design. These men *Carcinus* acquaints with his present inquietudes, and desires them to consult the Oracle concerning his expected Issue. They satisfied his desire, and received from the Oracle this answer; "That he which should be born should be a cause of exceeding great miseries both to the *Carthaginians* and all *Sicily*. Which answer allaid not, but increased the disquiets of *Carcinus*; for he was now tortured betwixt

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the fear of the *Panick* wrath, if he should foster their future Enemy, and his Paternal affection, which dissuaded him from sacrificing his own Child whom the Gods had designed to some great employments, (or otherwise he could not cause such troubles :) that he might secure the *Carthaginian* fears, that were but his imperious Oppressors; and for the quiet of *Sicily*, which was but his step-dame. But at last his fears, as is usual, prevailed over his other affections; and therefore lest the breeding of his Child should be the cause of both their deaths, he exposed it to perish in publick, and some were appointed to watch its end. But it being impossible to reverse the Decrees of Fate, which though fore-known, are not to be avoided; his life outlasted the patience of the Watchers, who being tired in their expectation, became more negligent in their charge: which afforded his Mother an opportunity to steal him away by night. But not daring to bring him home, lest she should renew his danger, or consulting the safety of her Husband, she commits him to the care of her Brother *Heraclidas*, and calls him after her Fathers name, *Agathocles*.

This is the relation of *Agathocles's* first coming into the world; a Birth proper for a Tyrant, wherein he proved terrible and dangerous

gerous to those that were the Authors of his life. But such Prodigies and Predictions as these are of a dubious credit and uncertain Original. For although the Longanimity of Heaven, that unwillingly punishes the sins of men, may and doth sometimes, by means that seem most proper to its infinite Wisdome, before it strikes, warn the World of those plagues that shall come upon them: yet most of these Oracles which we meet with in History are post-nate, and after the fact invented and published; and that from various beginnings. For sometimes *the Vulgar, who are more Superstitious than Religious, will either find or frame a Prediction for every great Event*: Because they being ignorant of the true Causes of things, and not able to observe the progress of Effects, but considering the Event in its full product, cannot but admire it, and therefore attribute it to that power which onely can work wonders; and so seek or make a Decree of Heaven, that should convey the Issues through so many seeming difficulties. Hence also it came to pass that when men of obscure births have performed great actions in the World, their descent not fully appearing, when their actions were full of splendour, they have imagined their Vertue was to be their Herald, and so did derive their pedigree from the Gods; as *Hercules* from *Jupiter*, and *Romulus* from *Mars*. And because the Divine Providence,

willing to shew that its sole power, and not the prudence of Men, doth make them great, doth often expose such in their Infancy to great dangers, whom in their riper years it intends to advance to mighty Honours; thereby beginning to demonstrate its force, when Prudence cannot pretend to their preservation: the Vulgar likewise fits by their fancies, for those whom with admiration they behold raised from low beginnings to unexpected Greatness, such entertainments in the World as must require the care of the Gods for their preservation. Thus the *Romans* formed the beginnings of their *Romulus*, and the *Persians* for their *Cyrus*, and the Inhabitants of *Spain* for their King *Habis*.

Nor are the rude Multitude the onely authors of such fabulous Miracles, but Tyrants themselves, which accommodate their designs to the Vulgar fancies, are frequently the very Oracles that frame Predictions concerning their own grandeur. For these either designing the change of their Republicks, or being already seized of power, do labour to make the world believe that Heaven is of the Plot, and concerned in their preservation: nothing being more prevalent upon the minds of men than Religion, which Tyrants by these Oracles make use of, to produce an awe in their oppressed Vassals, that they should not vainly attempt

to break those chains which Fate hath imposed on them, and by their efforts upon their Oppressors, seem to undertake a fruitless warre, to reverse the Decrees of Providence. Thus *Lysander* projecting the change of the Government of *Sparta*, would engage the Gods in the design, and corrupted the Priests to forge Oracles for the same. *Agrippina's* ambition to have her Son reign, prompted her to disperse a Miracle to make way for it, that the Gods to preserve him for the Empire, had appointed two Serpents to be the Guardians of his Infancy. *Catiline*, to inflame *Lentulus* to burn *Rome*, fed his ambitious and empty Soul with some dark Oracle out of the *Sibyl's* leaves. And such who have grasped at great designs, have laboured to make the world believe that there was alwaies some commerce betwixt the Gods and them. *Scipio Africanus* would never undertake any action, before he had some time sat in the Capitol in the Shrine of *Jupiter*; from whom he would be conceived to be inspired with some Heroick airs: so that his Soldiers with confidence followed that Leader whom they believed the Gods directed. *Ennius*, a Slave in *Sicily*, pretending inspirations from the *Syrian* Goddess, soon gathered up an Army of sixty thousand men, who, as if they seemed to follow the commands of the Gods, stoutly assisted this their imaginary King, and overthrew four *Roman* Prators with their forces.

ces. *Sandrocot*, a Greek Fugitive, having by Art reduced a Lion from his natural fierceness, to come and lick the sweat of his body, persuaded the *Indians* that the Gods had designed him for Empire by subjecting the Beast to his service; and he was readily accepted by them for their Prince, and employed to recover their Liberty from the Captains of *Alexander*: who freeing them from that yoke, did oppress them with his own Tyranny. So easily do the multitude follow that choice which they believe Heaven hath made; admiring him whom they fancy the Gods have loved, and fearing to offend those who pretend a Deity to be their Guardian. Which natural reverence of Heaven and Religious simplicity in the minds of men, the Tyrants make their first advantage to ascend to power. And it is possible that *Agathocles* was no less impudent to deceive the people and abuse the Gods this way then he was in his other practices, and had composed this Miracle when he first imagined to compass the Tyranny; founding his first hopes of Dominion in a Superstitious fear of the credulous multitude.

The Fate of *Sicily* and the *Carthaginians* having thus preserved him that was to be their Scourge, he was brought up by his Uncle *Heraclidas*, and grew to be of a comely countenance, and lusty frame of body beyond his

his years. When he came to seven years of age, his Father *Carcinus* was invited by *Heraclidas* to a Sacrifice: where seeing *Agathocles* playing together with some of his mates, whether through some secret motion of Nature, or by the rarity and pleasantness of the sight, he was much affected with the beauty and vigour of the Boy. His Wife observing it, did immediately suggest unto him, that just such an one their Son would have been had he not been so inhumanely exposed. *Carcinus* professed that he was sorry his fears had transported him beyond natural affection, and to shew his resentment, exceedingly wept. His Wife conceiving his present affections to comport with her design, acquaints him with the whole story, how she had saved the Child, and that this was the same. He was extremely pleased with the relation, and with joy received his Son, whom Providence and the affection of a Mother had so preserved: but doubting lest the receiving of his Son to his own house should quicken the remembrance of the Oracle, and so expose them both to the *Carthaginian* Fury, he removed his narrow Family out of their Dominions, and planted himself at *Syracuse*, the stage on which his Son was to act those various Scenes of Blood and Villany.

Carcinus at his new habitation was so poor and destitute of friends, that to maintain him-

self and his Family, he employ'd himself in making of Pots, and taught his son the same trade, that he might contribute something to his maintenance. Which occupation, being the Embleme of absolute Dominion, did seem to habituate his haughty and aspiring Soul to the practice of a boundless Power; and by composing clay to the forms of his own fancy, he did inure himself to module Societies and Commonwealths to the *Ideas* of his own Lusts and interest. In this mean trade *Carcinus* and his son did onely wrestle with necessity and poverty, and could never increase his substance to the Cense of a Citizen; and therefore a long time lived as a burden, not a member, of that Community: till such time as *Timoleon*, the Scourge of Tyrants, having freed *Sicily* from those Monsters, to replenish *Syracuse*, which the cruelty and horrid attempts of those Usurpers had almost depopulated, did grant the priviledges and immunities of the City to all that would come and inhabite there: at which time *Agathocles* with his Father were inrolled among the Citizens, and did enjoy that Liberty which he was shortly to ruine.

Carcinus not long after dies, and leaves the care of this young Potter to his surviving Mother: who in a feminine fondness of her Son, would needs set up his Effigies made in stone
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in one of the Temples of *Syracuse*. On which a swarm of Bees did one day settle, and made their little Cells of wax betwixt the thighs of it. The *Augurs*, and such as addièted themselves to the vain curiosity of the future, being consulted concerning this accident, gave this answer; "*That when her son came to years of maturity, he should arrive to great dignity.*" A conjecture which, because it was answered in the Event, became an observation, and was transmitted to posterity. Whereas *the greatest part of such vain Auguries are buried in oblivion, when the success makes them not authentick,*

From these low beginnings did *Agathocles* arise to a Principality. Thus the Providence of Heaven sometimes, to mock the pride of Princes, and baffle the Insolencies of Greatness, as also to assert its own absolute overruling Power, doth permit the inhabitants of the dunghill to possess the Palaces of Kings, and gives the Kingdomes of the world to the basest of men. He that shall observe and consider the Examples that are in ancient and modern History, will find how much of Mockery there is in all humane affairs, and how short-sighted that which we call Humane Providence is to foresee and prevent future events; for when jealous Cities have provided for their Liberty by the banishment of their most potent Citizens, and the Ostracisme of such
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who by their noble extracts and descent from imperial Originals are most to be suspected to impose upon the rights of their Country, they have been many times enslaved by some contemptible member of their Community. And frequently in Kingdomes, not those whom Fame or Hope destined to Empire, but whom Providence hath in secret reserved to be the future Prince, have ascended the Throne. And the highest Commands, which men conceive the due reward of all Vertues, and the portion of the best-descended, are yet sometimes given to the vilest persons, and the Majesty of Empire profaned by most abject exercisers of that power, as Slaves, Thieves, Pencers and Shepherds, or such like dregs of the people. This happens not but through the just Indignation of Heaven against an unquiet and sinful people, when not contented to bear the moderate Rule of lawful Princes, they are condemned to serve such reproachfull Lords. The *Romans* bewailed the malignity of their Fortune when they were forced, in preserving their Dignity and defending their Associates, to send forth just Armies against such theatrical Princes, as if they had been honourable and lawful Kings; and as it were ashamed of their Victory, they thought the majesty of a Triumph would be polluted if it were granted to the subduers of such imaginary Commanders. The ignominy therefore

fore of the Tyrant must needs aggravate the bondage of those that are compelled to serve him. And by how much they are removed from the just hopes of the supreme power, they are so much the more immoderate in their pride and ambition when they arrive unto it; their Souls being, like half-famished stomachs, insatiable with Dominion. In the exercise whereof they are like Comets, which being but Exhalations of the earth, when they are raised to the height, and kindled to the brightness of a Star, do portend ruine to the greatest persons and the best families. So such contemptible men elevated to power do rage most against the better and most vertuous parts of a Society, and seek to hide the baseness of their own, by spilling all the nobler blood. And as subterranean fires which first feed upon the roots, and then consume the entrails of great mountains, do from thence spread ashes and ruine upon the adjacent Valleys and neighbouring plains; so do such men, fired with ambition, labour to undermine the Optimacy, which are the supereminent parts of every Community, and then diffuse vassalage and misery upon the Populacy. And such did *Agathocles* prove to be to the miserable *Syracusans*.

Agathocles's Birth and Childhood, though poor and obscure, were yet more polluted by
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his vicious Youth and his following conversation. For he was more infamous by the course of his life, then for the meanness of his birth; because *not the beginnings, but the progress of our lives are the subjects of our choice, and it is that which renders us capable of shame or glory.* And as Vertue is not intailed upon Patrician families; so by no Decree of Fate or law of Nature is it proscribed from Plebeian breasts: but such as can boast no glory of their Ancestors, may yet be admired for their own Heroick actions. And many of those great actions which the world hath wondred at, have been performed by persons who were obscure in their Originall, and had no advantage for Fame from their birth. *Vertue wheresoever it is placed, draws the reverence and affection of men;* who behold Gallant persons as they do fair and great Trees, in which are commended the straightness, height and bigness of the Trunk, and the large extent and beauty of the Branches; but seldome is it inquired of the measure and depth of their Roots. *Rome* never repented the prodigality of her Honours in six Consulships to *Marium* a Plebeian, while she received no less glory and safety from his conduct then from any of her Patrician Consuls; and while he was contented to receive, not force the people's favour, which is usually most prone and indulgent to new appearers

in the State. But when his Ambition made him impatient of rest, and he would ravish, not court, his City's love, and snatch those Honours which she had designed to others, he appeared in his seventh Consulship no less dangerous to his own Citizens in peace, then he was to their Enemies in war. So that not his Birth, but his Vices disgraced his former dignities, and exposed him to the publick hatred.

But *Agathocles* his Youth was more disgraceful then his Trade, and continued the ignominy of his Infancy with the dishonour of his riper years: for being of a comely frame and lovely visage, he did allure, and prostitute himself as a common *Bardacio* to every man's Lust who was able to pay the reward of his infamy. And that he might not be unacquainted with any iniquity, he afterwards transferred his Lust from men to women; that as before he injured the Wives by diverting the affections of their Husbands, so he would abuse the Husbands with the Dishonour of their Wives. And in these practices he spent his first years, living so contemptibly, that he was without any esteem or regard, as one that had no Fortune to be solicitous to preserve, nor any Credit or Modesty to be tender of.

But by these baser Arts he at length got in-
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to favour with *Damas* one of the wealthiest *Syracusans*, by becoming his Pathick, and into the affections of his Wife, by being her Gallant. This man's favour brought the Potter into the Militia of the City, and in the discharge thereof he was so encouraged and assisted by him, that he was put into a condition of thriving, and a way to raise his Fortune. For *Damas* being made Commander in chief of the *Syracusan* army which they employed against the *Agrigentines*, when one of the Colonels were dead, he preferred *Agathocles* to that Command, who had before shewed himself not unequal to such an employment, being of a vigour and courage fit for great actions. He also had made himself considerable among the *Vulgar*, who *alwaies look upon things extraordinary*, by accustoming himself in all his military exercises, to use such heavy and strong arms as none else could easily manage. But being now made Colonel, he had more advantage to get a popular name and esteem among the Great and eminent, though not among the Good. And his preferment rendred more conspicuous all those his other advantages which he had either by Nature or Art. He was of a comely presence, and a large stature (which to the *Vulgar* are marks of Rule) an high and immoderate spirit. He had a mixture of good and bad Arts. He was as well industrious as he was luxurious,

rious, not less popular then arrogant, base and infamous in his pleasures when he gave himself to them, but solicitous and bold when he conceived it expedient; he was hazardous in his attempts, a despiser of dangers, impudent and passionate in his harangues, and so usually prevailed upon the *Multitude*, who are more easily persuaded and moved by what appears, then by what truly is: and he seemed to have all things requisite for Fame, but an honest Soul. To all these at length was added that other advantage of *Wealth and Riches*, which are the keys to Greatness, and make the accesses to Honour more easie and open. For *Demetrius*, and leaving his estate to his Widow, she became the Wife of *Agathocles*, and her Dowry put him into the Cense of the richest Citizens, and raised his desires beyond the level of a private person: for having a long time been vexed with Poverty, and now suddenly grown wealthy, he could not well dissemble the change of his Fortune, but was immoderate in those desires which had by a long Poverty been hitherto suppressed.

The unquiet state of the Commonwealth, either by Factions at home or Wars abroad, gave him frequent opportunities of promoting his designs, and improving his esteem among the Vulgar. For commotions in a State are like
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like Earthquakes, which as they sometimes swallow up pieces of land that have been long inhabited, and much adorned with the arts and Edifices of men, so do they sometimes thrust forth into the world some new pieces of ground, which though barren at first, may be capable of the same ornaments with those which are lost: so in Civil broils many ancient Families and eminent Persons are overthrown and destroyed; and in their stead arise new men to receive the Honours and reverence of the people. No Societies are more subject to such seditious commotions than *Democrati- cal* Politics, where all things being carried by the rude, ignorant and popular breath, they are often managed by ambitious persons to the shaking of the State, who endeavour to overwhelm others, to raise themselves. In such a Commonwealth did *Agathocles* live, which was therefore more obnoxious to his Arts; and he neglected no advantage that seemed favourable to his design. Therefore the *Syracusans* having decreed to send an Army to relieve the City *Croton*, that then was besieged by the *Brutii*, *Agathocles* gets himself to be created by the publick suffrage a Colonel in this Expedition; but the chief command was intrusted to *Sosistratus* and *Heraclides*, men that had a long time lived by oppression, rapine and blood, and had made themselves powerful by exceeding Crimes. In this service *Agathocles* having behaved

behaved himself stoutly, was notwithstanding, through the Envy of *Sosistratus*, denied those Honours and rewards which he conceived due to his achievements.

This injury coming so cross to his designs, as checking his course to popular estimation, he could not digest; but his spirit boiled with anger and hatred, that others should have the Glory of that which he thought was the proper effect of his Valour, and that he should be obscurely exposed to fruitless dangers: nor was he less grieved at his Enemies Honour then at his own Wrong. Therefore to satisfy his revenge, and to try another way to Fame, which was to make himself great by enmities with great men, and for which he was also fitted by Nature, being of a round and smooth discourse, skilfull in raising slanders, and bold enough to prosecute them, powerful at Factions and popular discontents; he leaves the Army and makes hast home, where he challenges the liberty of a free City, and accuseth *Sosistratus* and his party (of the greatest Crime in a Popular State) as invaders of the common Liberty, and such as intended a Tyranny. But the *Syracusans* neglected these accusations; either because their Commonwealth was defective in its constitution, as having not provided for a way whereby such accusations even of their most potent Citizens might be
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thoroughly examined, (which would have been much for the security of their Liberty, because it would have terrified any consultations and conspiracies against it, and have opened a way and course by Law for Citizens to vent their passions and humours one against another, and not necessitated them to extraordinary waies and private force, which do soon ruine the Commonwealth;) Or *Sofistratus* his greatness and success had secured him against the force of any impeachment, so that the people were not willing to take notice of that crime which they could not punish, or of that design which they could not prevent. For *sometimes treasons are with more ease avoided when they are not understood, and are more dangerous in so potent a person when known, then when they are only in design.* Or else the credic of *Agathocles* was so low, that he could not raise a belief in any that he could be solicitous for the publick good; or that this was any thing else but a sally of his factious Spirit. His attempts being slighted, he was forced to suppress his present Accusations.

But *Sofistratus* returning home victorious from *Croton*, the *Syracusans* lost more by the Victory then was sought by the war; for he being proud with his success, and conscious of his own designs, and doubting that the accusations of *Agathocles* had made him obnoxious

noxious to the peoples jealousy and anger, he changes the form of the Government into an *Oligarchy*, establishing the Supreme power in some few of the Nobles, and making himself the chief of the party: by this way consulting his own safety: it seeming evident to him there could happen nothing more dismal in his enterprise, then what he was to expect in a modest and private condition. This though at first it seemed to secure *Sosistratus*, yet was it of a pernicious consequence both to himself and the City in the issue of it. For to change the Government and the accustomed Orders of a Society must needs offend many persons; and where there are many malecontents, some wretched accident may be every day feared. Besides the Example it gives to others to the same attempts, which will adjust the most horrid practices that are done in imitation: for Examples stay not where they began, and though at first they be admitted but in a part, yet at last invade the whole; and when men have once declined from the rule of Justice, they are precipitate to that which is evil: no man conceiving that dishonourable for him, which hath proved beneficial to another. So that this practice of *Sosistratus* and his party did in some measure honest the future proceedings of *Agathocles* against them, and licence his projects for Tyranny.

Yet at present *Agathocles*, that had found no Justice from his Enemy when he served under his command in the war, could not now expect security from him in peace, who had the whole power of the City, and was exasperated by his accusations; and as formerly he felt his Envy, so he was now to fear his Revenge, and therefore forsakes the City. And because he was thus obstructed in his courses to Principality at home, he intended to attempt it abroad. To this end he gathers up in *Sicily* a company of such as were accustomed to robberies, by hopes of larger booties and more splendid rapines. These he disposes into the species of a just Army, dividing them into several Companies, and marshalling them under distinct Leaders, to be the fitter to receive and execute his commands. With this thievish Army he sails over into *Italy*, and watches all opportunities for spoil and Tyranny. The first that felt his attempts were the *Crotoniates*, for whose liberty before he had behaved himself stoutly even to envy: and now as if he had repented of his Vertue, or to shew that though he was not willing they should serve others, yet he desired they might be his Slaves, he endeavours to surprize their City. But being discovered and encountred, he was beaten back with great loss of his company. With shame and the rest of his beaten forces he flies to *Tarentum*, where he with his company

company were received into pay as mercenary Souldiers for the defence of the City. But his immoderate thirst of Greatness, and his unquiet spirit, which grew more eager by repulses, would not let him rest; (*So pertinacious is that hope which great desires do conceive*) that even there he practised to arrive at Principality, and instead of a Servant to become Master of the place. But his designs being divulged, he was cashiered, and with his Faction and party driven out of the City.

Thus everywhere unfortunate abroad, he is presented by Fortune with an opportunity of returning home, and revenge on his adversaries. For the *Syracusans* were about that time in hostility with the City *Rhegium*, and had sent an Army to besiege it under the Conduct of *Sosistratus*. *Agathocles*, that was then maintaining himself and his small party by Robberies, hearing of it, gathers together all the Exiles that were in those parts of *Italy*, and other Vagabonds and Thieves, and with such forces attempts to raise the siege before *Rhegium*: and so happily accomplishes it, that he broke the Army of *Sosistratus* with so great a rout, that he became contemptible to the *Syracusans*. *The contempt of a Magistrate doth alwaies usher in his ruine*. For the people encouraged by his overthrow, and exasperated by the insolency of the *Oligar-*

chy, who had incurred the publick hatred, and animated by some secret practices of *Agathocles*, took up arms, and forced *Sofistratus* and his party, which were about six hundred, all Instruments or Members of the *Oligarchy*, to quit the Government and City also: and then retrived their former *Democracy*, but with the addition of a Senate of six hundred, which should consist of the wealthiest and gravest of the people, who were to debate things of the weightiest concernment. This change opened a safe return to *Agathocles*, and greater hopes to seize upon the power of the Commonwealth, *Sofistratus* and his party being removed, who were the greatest obstructions to his designs. And because he wanted strength to force the people, he applies himself to cheat them by the arts and waies of a Demagogue, by which *Dionysius* before him had attained the Principality of that unquiet City. For there being in every Society two several parties, the Nobles and the Populacy, they are carried with different and opposite humours. The Grandees still seek after a power to oppress and command the lower and inferiour part of the Community; and the People strive for that liberty that they may neither be commanded nor oppressed. And by means of these distant and opposite humours most part of the Tyrannies did arise. He therefore who intends to use the people for his ascent to power, must be

be frequent in his harangues, flatter the multitude, bitterly inveigh against the insolencies of the *Optimacy*, extol the name and benefits of Liberty, and make large promises of peace and plenty in the counsels he doth propose: and this is to be a Demagogue. For such an one speedily becomes the leader of the ignorant multitude, who are easily deceived by specious promises, and the accusations of such whom they hate, and conceive him to be very just that favours their desires, which have more of honesty then those of their adversaries; and they do usually give a power into his hands to suppress the contrary Faction, which he afterwards uses to take away their Liberty.

This way, which seemed most safe and easie, did *Agathocles* upon his return proceed in. Therefore when the news came that the *Banditti*, *Sofistratus* and his party, assisted by the *Carthaginians*, did intend to make warre upon the *Syracusans*, he was frequent and importunate in his Orations to the people, that they would not return again under the yoke of the *Oligarchy*, but undertake the warre to maintain their Liberty. Which being managed with the usual arts did prevail upon the Multitude, and they decreed the warre: which continued a long time, and was varied with several Overthrows and Victories. In this warre *Agathocles*, sometimes as a private person, and some-

times as a Commander, did behave himself gallantly, and shewed himself to be a person of good Conduct, close design, apprehensive of all advantages, and speedy in the execution, having alwaies in doubtful cases some cunning Stratagem, either to baffle the enemy, or to secure his own party. Amongst which this is related for one. The *Syracusans* having laid siege to *Gela*, *Agathocles* one night with a thousand commanded men gets into the town by surprize. *Sofistratus*, that then was Governour of the place, being alarmed by the surprize, speedily collecting the stoutest and best-disciplin'd men of the Garrison, sets upon those that had entred, and killing about three hundred of them, put the rest to flight. Who being to make their retreat through very narrow lanes, were in great hazard of being all cut off, having neither room to fight, nor leisure to flie. *Agathocles* beyond all hope frees them from this danger; for though he himself had received seven wounds, and was weakned with the loss of much blood; yet not fearfully yielding to his present adversity, he gives command to the Trumpetters, that they should go to the opposite part of the town-wall, and there sound a Charge: which being speedily performed, the *Geloans*, that then pressed hard upon *Agathocles*, hearing the Charge given in another place, and through the darkness of the night not being able to discover the truth of the matter, conceived

ceived the City to be assaulted in another part by another body of the Enemy. This made them slacken their eagerness in assailing *Agathocles*, and to divide themselves to succour the other parts which they imagined were assaulted; and by this means suffered him and his party safely to return to their Camp: where he was received with much honour, for having preserved the lives of so many of his own party from an evident ruine.

Had *Agathocles* abounded with these honest arts, he had trodden the right way to Glory; and would he have been contented with what the Laws and his Country would give, he might have received that as a reward of his Vertue which he laboured to make a spoil of his Violence, and by the common consent have been thought worthy to reign, if he had not sought it too greedily. So *Gelo* before him, and *Hiero* after him, received the Empire of *Syracuse* as a reward of their generous actions, not as the aim of their designs. And *Timoleon*, though he strove to be a private person, yet was forced to be a Prince. *Heroick Vertues being as the Patent of Heaven for Dominion: and men willingly submit to them that receive, not take the Power; and think their Freedome preserved, not infringed, by a just Prince, there being no greater Liberty then to be well governed.* But the desire of Greatness was too importunate in

in *Agathocles*. For ambitious spirits are not easily contented with what is offered; to whom the present enjoyments seem contemptible, when greater things may be hoped for; and at last they endeavour too hastily to exceed their own hopes: which is the ruine of many, that might have attained to Supremacy, had they not preferred too speedy and dangerous courses to such that are more slow, yet sure, mediums to power. And therefore these arts which would have covered moderate crimes in others, made him more suspected by his Citizens, that he was a person of too bold hopes, and no longer fit to dwell in a free City: for he made use of all his Successes and abilities to render himself great in the common fame, and popular among the Souldiers. So that his Vertues, as well as his Vices, made him unfit for that Society. For *Industry and Sagacity* are no less dangerous than *Vanity and Luxury* to a Commonwealth, when they are used to attain a Tyranny.

To prevent therefore the ambitious designs of this and other her Citizens, the Commonwealth of *Syracuse* had invited from *Corinth* *Accestorides*, a person of a clear fame and unquestioned Honesty, to take upon him the Government for a time, that he might ballance the several Factions of their State, and give vent to those swelling hopes of her most turbulent

lent members, who now were grown too big for a civil and ordinary management; hoping to find him like to *Timoleon*, that knew how both to conquer Tyrants, and to submit to a civil Government, a rare agreement in one breast: for *the nature of man is willing to indulge that in himself which he hates in another*. But *Acefforides*, though he wanted not integrity for his trust, yet failed in courage and resolution to perform it. For finding *Agathocles* the greatest object at that time of the common jealousy, and that Liberty and he were inconsistent in one City, (*For that City cannot be accounted free, where any one Citizen can terrifie the publick Magistrates*), he did not dare to remove him by a Trial and course of Justice, but intended to take him off by a secret Conspiracy: and therefore published an Edict, whereby he banished him from that Commonwealth; and commanding him to leave the City by night, he laid an Ambush in the way that might kill him in his passage, supposing the darkness would conceal the authors of his death, and his Banishment would occasion an uncertainty in all reports that should be divulged, whether he were alive or dead, and so suspend the minds of the Vulgar rabble (to whom his Vices as well as his Vertues had endeared him, and) who would be forward to mutiny in his revenge. *Agathocles*, that was not unacquainted with any fraudulent practices, did easily suspect the plot:

plot: and therefore to prevent it, chuseth out one of his servants that was most like to himself in the outward proportion of body, and harnesses him with his own armour, mounts him upon his own horse, and sends him out of the City that way which he conceived was forelaid, and he himself disguised with poor and ragged apparel departs in a more unfrequented path. Those that were appointed to dispatch him, conjecturing by the arms and horse that they had encountered with their designed prey, set upon the Servant and kill him, supposing that they had rid *Syracuse* of their fears and hate. But *Agathocles's* following actions soon made them sensible of their error, and did upbraid the weakness of *Acestorides*, who did not dare to use the sword of Justice against him whom he thought unworthy to live, and put the security and Liberty of the Commonwealth upon the uncertainty of a Plot.

Agathocles being gone, the unsteady multitude grow weary of that warre which he had perswaded them unto against the *Banditi*, who assisted by the power of *Carthage*, were able to renew their invasions after many defeats. Therefore they immediately receive them into the City again, and conclude a Peace with the *Carthaginians*: but revoked not the sentence of Banishment against *Agathocles*, which now by the return of his enemies he conceived would be

be irreverſible. He therefore hath recourſe to his old auxiliaries of Thieves and deſperate Vagabonds, whom neceſſity and his former conduct had fitted for any Villany; who readily ſtocked about him in hopes of more licentious rapines: and to theſe he gathers all the diſbanded Souldiers, whom the preſent Peace had made uſeleſs, and forming an Army of theſe, he grew terrible both to the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſans*, waſting their Territories, firing their Villages, and plundering the weaker and unfenced Towns and Cities. And that he might colour his outrages with ſome pretext of Juſtice, he eſpouſed the quarrels of all thoſe Cities that were either enemies to or emulous of the power of *Syracuſe*; & to this end was made *Prætor* of the *Murgantines*, who had an ancient hatred againſt them, and had been his ſanctuary in his Banishment. Under the ſpecies of their quarrel he did ſo eagerly proſecute the warre and his own deſigns, that he took *Leontium*, and blocked up *Syracuſe* it ſelf. This reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they were forced to ſeek for ſuccour and aid from *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* General. He, either to keep alive thoſe flames wherewith the *Sicilians* did conſume one the other, was willing to adde ſome ſewel to the fire; or elſe in humanity and of a generous ſpirit, would aſſiſt a noble, though adverſe, City. when diſtreſſed by her own Citizens; ſending thither ſuch a ſufficient ſupply

as made *Agathocles* despair by force to bring it to his subjection. He therefore applies himself to his more safe and secret arts of deceit; and desires *Amilcar* that he would mediate betwixt him and *Syracuse*, that he might be restored again to his own City and household Gods, and not be necessitated by such unpleasing wailes to preserve his life and liberty. But together with these honest pretexs, he made more obliging promises of service and gratitude to *Amilcar*, if he would be the happy instrument of his return home.

Amilcar undertakes the office, and easily perswades the wretched *Syracusans* to consent to that which, without his assistance, they should be forced to submit unto upon more unequal conditions. His restitution therefore was agreed unto by the People, upon some security of their Peace and Liberty; which to give them, he was led into the Temple of *Ceres*, the most sacred Deity among the *Sicilians*, and there solemnly swore, that he would doe nothing contrary to the *Democratical* Government of *Syracuse*. This was the onely security which they could at that time have from *Agathocles*. Which is indeed a sufficient tie upon such souls as are indued with a sense of Vertue, or have any fear of a Deity: but Oaths are too weak fetters to restrain ambitious Spirits, or such as intend a Tyranny. For *He that re-*
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selves to be unjust towards men, will slight the testimony and vengeance of Heaven. But though the people had been acquainted with the Arts and impiety of Tyrants, and were not ignorant of the impious converse of him whom they admitted; (For from the former conversation may be best valued the force of any mans oath) yet were they now in such a condition, that it was as dangerous not to believe as to be deceived: and they chose rather, as conceiving it a relief of their miseries, to be undeservedly abused, then to leave him any colour of justice for his Injuries.

But it was the greater Wonder among the *Speculativi*, that *Amilcar*, a person of such experience in humane converse, and by a long Government not unacquainted with the distance of aspiring minds from their Oaths and Promises, that he should rely upon the Oath of *Agathocles*; who likewise swore to him by touching the kindled Tapers, (the form of swearing among the *Carthaginians*) that he would promote the *Punick* interest, and obey their commands. For how could he imagine that a Person so faithless to his own Country, would observe any faith with strangers? that he which sought for Dominion in his own City, would quietly bear a foreign yoke? Yet the *Carthaginian* might promise to himself advantages to his Republick either from the Perfidiousness

dioufness or Obfervance of the Tyrant. If he were faithful, then the increafe of his power over the *Syracufans* extended the Dominion of the *Africans*, and would give fome Splendour to their yoke, in that they had a King for a miniſter of ſlavery. If otherwiſe he ſhould be falſe to both, then might *Carthage* rejoice at his Perjuries, becauſe they would occaſion eternall hatreds and quarrels among her common enemies, and ſo make her Victory eaſie when ſhe ſhould attempt it. And it would be more advantage for the *Punick* Empire, if *Agathocles* together with infamy and hate ſhould poſſeſs the power of *Syracuſe*, then if he had acquired it by vertuous actions, and had been ſeated in it by the people's affections: for ſo being mutually jealous, they would afflict and weaken each other, that at laſt the Tyrant would not be able to hold his Uſurpation, nor the City to maintain her Liberty: ſo that in the end it muſt neceſſarily fall into their boſome. Theſe might be the too ſubtle ſpeculations and fine hopes of *Amilcar*: but they could never be eſteemed wiſe counſels, wherein ſo many accidents might intervene, as might juſtly make him doubt of the expected iſſue. For the Tyrants Cruelty and Fortune eluded all his hopes, and juſtified the *Carthaginian* Censure, who for this action condemned their Commander.

Agathocles

Agathocles being returned home, covered his revengeful and ambitious Soul with a disguised Modesty, neither awakening the fears of the people, nor raising the jealousies of his enemies by complaints of his unjust banishment, and the unprovoked injuries which he had received; but burying all in silence, as if the love of his Country had defaced all private animosities, he rendred all secure, and suffered them to embrace that error, *That Malice may be worn out with time, and appeased by Benefits.* And knowing that the speediest way to overthrow the present Government was to pretend Liberty, and when the Government was once shaken, it might easily be attempted on; he applies himself to such courses as might render him in the Vulgar esteem the Patron and assertor of the common Liberty. Therefore in all his harangues he still expressed his great affection to the people. Who being most eager in two desires, one, of having their Liberty, and the other, of taking revenge on those that are the instruments of their bondage; he tickles and feeds these two humours in his speeches, pleading the great equity of restoring the Government to the multitude, that every free-man should have his share in the common interest; and then inveighs against those that had been and were in power, accusing their insolencies and miscarriages in Government, and so forms his discourses

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courses as one that rather knew how to rule, then desirous of it. For *he that accuses would be supposed clear in himself from what he objects to another as a crime, and he is conceived skilful in that wherein he observes anothers errors.* Thus playing the subtle Demagogue, and doing all things as a Slave, that he might arrive at Rule, with more safety and speed he attains that which open and stout assaies would have rendred difficult. And *he that will arise from a private and low condition to the Supreme fortune, must use more Art then Force.*

The people cheated by these his specious representations of a perfect Liberty, and cajoled by his reiterated protestations of seeking onely the common utility, soon forgot their former jealousies, and his bold attempts upon their Liberty; (*So strong an influence hath a confident assertion even upon distrustful minds, that it works a belief of what they desire, though contrary to the evidence of reason drawn from former experience*) and bewitched with the imaginary benefits of Novelty, which the Vulgar are no less desirous of in a well-ordered then in a corrupted State, did by a publick Decree make him their General, and constitute him their Conservator of the Peace, till such time as a form of Government should be framed that might satisfie all parties, and preserve Liberty and Unity among all the members
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of the Commonwealth. For all the Exiles being returned home, the City was distracted with various Factions, and could not agree in any one form of State. Every one, as it is usual, projecting several methods conducing to the interest of his own party, and the ruine of the opposite; very little respecting the publick security. And when all would order the Commonwealth, none could please: for some of their Forms did not please those that were good, and others displeased the wise. In some it was made easie to doe mischief, and in another men could not safely doe that which was good. One left too much authority to the Grandees, and the other made the Populacy tyrannical and arbitrary. Therefore *the multitude, which are slow in their resolves, unless determined by necessity*, were now by the variety of proposals more uncertain and dubious to make their choice. In the mean while each Faction striving to advance it self, made an horrid confusion in the Community. And as in a Tempest each wave striving to be highest rides upon the back of that which hasted to the shore before it, and is it self also suppressed by a following: so it happened in this Civil Tempest of the Commonwealth; each party strove to suppress the other, till a third, undiscerned before, assaults and suppresses the Conquerour. And each was made more fierce by their several pretensions to Liberty and the Publick good, which even

those that aimed at the severest Tyranny would not neglect : so that all thinking to evidence the goodness of their Cause by their heat for it, filled the whole City with tumult and confusion,

The Divisions ran so high, and continued so long, that the soberer part thought it was now expedient, that the afflicted Republick should have some rest, lest the wounds thereof should be made wider by such a tumultuous way of curing. And it appeared that the onely way to attain Order was, to conferre and intrust into some One man's hand power to preserve the peace for a time : for it was evident, that it was almost impossible, in so great a distraction, things could ever come to a settlement, unless some One, like a Soul and Mind, should give Order and Method to all the rest. The person chosen for this was *Agathocles*, who was still on that party where was the greatest Number, which was likely to be the most ignorant, and which he conceived he could most easily delude. He therefore was made *Prætor*, and intrusted with more then ordinary power for this great work of settlement. Thus was *Agathocles* presented with the fairest opportunity of true Glory that his Soul could possibly desire. For *Heaven cannot give nor any man wish for a fitter occasion for worldly Glory, then to find a City deformed with*

with confusions, and declining to ruine by its corruptions, which he may reform and module with wholesome Laws and generous Constitutions, to render it a peaceable habitation, and make it a theatre of Vertue and Justice; to secure the Magistrates of their Honour, and every private person of his Wealth and Safety: for this is to be emulous and a rival of the glory of Heaven, to bring Order out of Confusions, to dispense those blessings which render Life comfortable, and hedge up the fortunes and goods of men with a just providence. This captivates the Souls of men to a voluntary subjection, and challenges an un-envied adoration.

But *Agathocles*, who was of the temper of every Tyrant, measuring the benefit of his Power by a licence to doe mischief, & being no less thirsty of Blood then he was of Greatness, perverted these advantages of solid Glory to gratifie his Lusts, consulting his own eternal ignominy in his Countries slavery. And therefore resolved not to let slip this season of erecting his Tyranny, to which all things in the judgement of his Lusts did seem to invite him. The people whom he had to deal with were factious and unquiet, restless as the Sea which did encompass them; whom the plenty of their soil and the riches of Trading had made so wanton, that they were impatient of

Laws and Magistrates : and as they were unwilling to endure Slavery, so they were immodest in the use of their Liberty ; and by these Corruptions were become like so many wild beasts, easie to be taken by any watchful and bold hand that could hope to tame them. Besides, the frequent revolutions of Government, and the successive inundations of several Factions, had each in their Order, like the Overflowings of *Nile*, left so many seeds and spawns of monsters that might easily be formed to any design ; so many disappointed in their hopes and broken in their fortunes, that they would be contented to be instruments of any change that should make them whole again. The Soldiers were for the most part mercenary, and without any discipline ; for *in Civil warres the discord of the Citizens abolishes the severity of discipline* : besides, being now to be cashiered, because they were made useles by this Peace, they were envious at the rich Citizens, and did meditate nothing else but the sacking of the Town, the pillage of the Country, and the murdering of their Enemies ; and so were fitted for any bold corrupter, that would but lead them to their desired prey. But the most inviting Occasion was the present unsettledness of the Government, all things being but in motion to composure, not yet established ; which is a vast advantage for any wicked enterprise, whose counsels and hopes are built upon troubles.

bles. All these Occasions promised much ease in the design, and there was nothing that he feared would much impede his ascent to Principality, but the Authority of the Senate of six hundred, which were the wealthiest *Syracusans*, and of greatest credit with the people, which he intends to remove out of the way; not willing any longer to delay, when caution seemed more dangerous than rashness, and fearing to lose these *Occasions* which Modern Tyrants name the *Calls of Providence*.

All things therefore seeming fit for his purpose, being now Chief Magistrate, no empty name, but of great moment to execute any enterprise, and having an actual command of all the forces of the Commonwealth, he wanted only some pretext to draw them together, with as many as he thought fit for his design, which either Fortune presented him with, or he himself formed. For news was brought to *Syracuse*, that some under their dominion had revolted from their obedience, and were embodied about *Erbisa*. Upon this the people were summoned in great haste, who surprised with this sudden fear, passed a Decree, that *Agathocles* should take care of the Commonwealth; and that he might prevent the danger with speed, he might levy what Souldiers he thought fit.

This Commission was as large as his desires,

and he presently makes use of it to his purpose: for he sends for the *Morgantines*, who were his ancient friends, but bitter enemies of the *Syracusans*; he gathers up out of the in-land Towns such as had been his former comrades in his thievish expeditions; and with these he joins those that had formerly served under him against the *Carthaginians*, who he knew were obliged to him by former Benefits, fit for whatsoever he dared to command, that were of a pertinacious faith to him, but enemies to the Senate, and haters of the people, because they were forced to obey their commands: which hatred was therefore more fierce, because it was unjust. All these made up a number of three thousand, every one of which were very desirous to ruine the *Democracy*. To these he adds such of the Citizens as had no honest hopes, whole poverty or fear of punishment for former offences did make them malign and hate those that were in Power, and suggest to them a necessity of becoming greater criminals, that by the change of Government they might gain security, and in licentious tumults alter their despicable fortunes by the booties and rewards of civil commotions.

These all being fit for his purpose, as if he intended his march towards *Erbisa*, he appoints to rendezvous at the Tomb of *Timoleon*; as if he would first trample upon the ashes and memory

memory of him that had been the most Vertuous assertor of Liberty to that wretched City, and from thence make his invasion by Blood and Violence. His Army being met, he sends for *Peisarchus* and *Deeles*, who were the most eminent and leading members of the Senate, as having something to consult with them concerning the publick affairs. They coming to him with a train of about forty of their friends, were immediately secured by a guard that he set upon them, as if they had come to execute some Treason against him. Then calling his Souldiers together, and appearing among them with a countenance composed to sadness, he omits nothing that might move either pity to him, or fear, anger, and hate towards the Senate. He invokes their faith and compassion of him, and complains of his hard Fate, that it was never safe for him to love the People, and that none was ever an enemy to the Commonwealth, but they would be likewise the contrivers of his destruction. "For do you not hear" (saith he) *how my execution and your punishment is already decreed, and how the Senate hath sent these their most subtle Agents to draw me back to the place of slaughter, and to contrive the scene of your massacre? They envy us the honour of dying upon our enemies swords in defence of our Country's Liberty: and we must brutishly fall as sacrifices to their insolent Lusts, and our blood*
be

" be spilt to testifie that such Monsters ruled
 " us. In vain do we arm and expose our selves
 " to death to keep off a forein yoke, when such
 " ungrateful wretches devote us to ruine at
 " home. Are we not patient enough in our
 " slavery, when we offer our selves to all the
 " dangers of warre, that they may be secure
 " in their effeminate pleasures, and wantonly
 " lavish that wealth which is the price of our
 " blood? but must we also be basely sent out
 " of the world, that they alone may enjoy it?
 " W'en will these men know the just bounds of
 " commanding, or we fully apprehend the mi-
 " sery of our ignominious thraldome?

Then pausing, as if he had been interrupted
 with tears which he shed, the Vulgar rout hin-
 dered any further progress in his speech, with
 loud clamour, each one according to the sense
 of his Interest or Passion, exclaiming against
 the Vices of the Senators: some charged them
 with Cruelty, others railed at their Covetous-
 ness, and another sort did condemn their Pride
 and Perfidiousness; and therefore they jointly
 cried out, " That he should not wait till such
 " inhumane vipers did return to a love of their
 " own City, but speedily revenge his own and
 " their injuries: that he had already offended
 " enough against his trust, in dealing so gently
 " with such as deserved as little of mercy, as
 " they shewed of justice. Agathocles suffers
 not

not their present rage to cool, knowing that wicked attempts are to be done with a sudden fury, though good counsels gather strength by delay: and seeing they understood the causes of hatred, he would likewise quicken them with the hopes of Spoil.

"Go, (saith he) and be your own Avengers,
"make the Tyrants feel what they decreed you
"should suffer. Let the wealth of Senators that
"know no modesty in their commands, be the
"rewards of such generous Souls that can en-
"dure no Slavery. Leave them no friends or
"confidents which may bewail or revenge their
"death, nor children to inherit their Crimes
"with their Wealth. Then immediately, not
to give space to the bad to repent, nor to the
good (if there were any there) to consider, and
in abhorrency of the fact to unite against him,
he commands the Trumpets to sound a charge,
as if he were sacking an Enemies Town. The
caitiff Army having this full licence to satisfy
their revenge, covetousness and lust, soon fell
to the execution, and left nothing undone that
a conquered City feels from an enraged Ene-
my. They guarded all the posts of the City,
and shut up the Gates that none might escape
their fury: then they slew all the most daring
and popular Citizens, who hearing the tumult
came forth unarmed into the streets to inquire
the cause. Then the houses streamed with the
blood

blood of the owners, the Innocent fell with the Guilty, and every one was slain that had something to satisfy the expectation of his murderer. He that had no enemy, met with death at the hand of his friend; and a good name was a mark for ruine. The Altars of the Gods were coloured with the blood of those that fled to them for refuge, as Victims to an incensed Deity. The aged men and ancient matrons were led about in scorn, by their miseries to make up the merrier part of this Tragedy. And that nothing of unhappiness might be unfelt by the miserable *Syracusans*, Rapes were mingled with Slaughters; he that was the Assassin of the Husband, would be the Ravisher of the Wife; and he that reeked with the blood of the Father, would quench his flames of lust with the dishonour of the Daughter. Their rage and lust was so high against the people, that at last it grew hot among themselves, and he was accounted an enemy that had got the more precious booty. When any Virgin or Youth, whom beauty made conspicuous, fell into the hands of this barbarous rabble, they were commonly torn in pieces by the violence of those who contended for their first abuse; and then became the quarrel, and armed the Ravishers to their mutual ruine. Others while they hasted away with the gold and silver of the murdered owner, were themselves a prey to a stronger arm. Thus death and ruine reigned

ed in *Syracuse*, and the first day there were no less than four thousand of the most eminent Citizens, that by honest arts had won the affections of the people, murdered. Some were apprehended and slain at the gates, through which they thought to flee. Others met death from which they fled in climbing over the town wall, by too much fear and hast breaking their necks and limbs. About six thousand escaped, and some of them got safe to *Agrigentum* and other neighbouring Cities, where the relation of their miseries did move a great deal of pity: but the inhumane Souldiers would yet make them sensible of their fury in their remaining parts, with more contumely ravishing their Wives and Daughters, because they themselves had escaped with their lives.

This Cruelty lasted for two daies, *Agathocles's* thirst of blood being not sooner to be quenched; or because his authority was not yet so great as to forbid those crimes which he might with ease command; or he was willing to indulge the lusts of his Army beyond all hopes of pardon, that so they might not expect safety but in the conduct and preservation of him who had authorized their wickedness. But when this base rabble of men did seem to be satiated with villany, as having no more subjects to practice on, to conclude the Tragedy, he sends for all those Citizens whom he had secured,

secured, and who had been reserved to feed his own eyes with their blood. Of these, such as he had most injured, and whose virtues he might most fear, were slain before him; others less considerable he banished. Onely one *Dionocrates*, a bold and faithless person, so like him in vices, that the similitude had been the ground of a former acquaintance, though now he was a stranger to his design, he freely sets at liberty: which was not the effect of Clemency or Friendship, Virtues that Tyrants are not capable of, but to provide a refuge for himself in the future. For even the most barbarous and bloodiest villains, in diffidence of a change of affairs, will provide some private favour against the publick hatred.

This was *Agathocles's* first scene of Dominion; and by surveying these sacrifices to Empire, the state *Augurs* and prudent *Greeks* did form a judgement how bloody and cruel would be the process of his Government. For *Sovereignty must be maintained by the same arts by which it is acquired; and an Empire wickedly gotten by crimes, was never exercised by virtue and honesty.* And as no good man will seek to be a Prince by wicked practices; so no debauched Spirit, that by impiety hath invaded a Principality, will ever think to use it justly.

For either by his wicked practices to attain

to it, his Soul will be habituated to mischief ; or his desires to keep what he hath usurped will present to him a necessity to continue as he did begin. Because *Vices when once they have debauched the souls of men, leave no place for moderation* : and he that in his projects for Greatness hath a long time meditated violence and cruelty, will be like those ravenous beasts, that having once tasted blood, will become unsatiable, and as Lions that having fed upon carcasses, are still searching after the like. And this appetite when it is once armed with the supreme power, will sometimes, when there is no necessity for preservation, frolick with the lives of men, and in a capricious humour, or boast of Greatness, drink humane blood, and sport with mischief. If Habits restrain not an Usurper from just courses, yet the Necessities of State will : and if he were desirous to abound with those acts which adorn men with the titles of Good, yet the injustice of his entrance upon Government will make it exceeding difficult, if not impossible ; for that will alwaies give him occasions of fear, fear will seek for security, security cannot be had by the affections of those to whom he hath given just cause of hate ; therefore he must make himself safe by more injuries, and hence arises increase of hatred : it being impossible that the Injurer and the Injured should ever be cemented by a *solid faith, which*

is the surest basis for a moderate Empire and lasting obedience; and that Government will be alwaies odious and never good, that must be maintained by violence. Besides, Tyrants meet with obstructions to a vertuous use of their power by those that assisted them in the acquisition; the instruments of their Greatness will be their obstacles to Goodness: for they being vitious by whom they did arise, they must be no other to gratifie them, and must neglect those ingaging Vertues that become Princes, because they are obliged to such that are not fit to be Subjects. His Vices render him not more hateful to the good, then his Vertues doe to those that have been the ministers of his Tyranny, to whom, as well as to his own lusts, he must be ready to prostitute the lives, honours and goods of the best Citizens, and sometimes his choicest friends, as to the authors of his fortune. So that the observation of *Tacitus* is very true, *Imperium flagitio acquiritum nemo unquam bonis artibus exercuit*: and it is apparent in the Life of *Agathocles*, and verified in every Usurper.

Agathocles having laid his foundation by ruder cruelty, builds the Superstructures wth dissimulation: an art thought so necessary for those whom Ambition makes thirsty or tenacious of Greatness, that *Tiberius*, who was well skilled in it, esteemed it among his choicest Vertues; alwaies
appearing

appearing a modest refuser of what he passionately desired; and when all things else died in him, he strove to keep his dissimulation alive. *Andronicus* by this onely Art arrived to the Greek Empire, and had found it so prosperous, that he made use of it when the enraged Multitude were in actual revenge of that Imperial and Patrician blood which he had spilt, and as he was led to Execution, continued his feigned Piety, crying out, *Break not a bruised reed*: as if he thought dissimulation so powerful a charm, that it would calm a tumult, and that anger and fury had left a place for credulity. *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, a Prince of such an impatient Ambition, that he could not bear with a private condition though in reverence to the Crown, while his Father lived, nor defer the jealousies of his own Son, till his age might make him more aspiring and capable of Dominion, had made such use of this artifice, and was so successful in it, as by it onely he ruined his too powerful enemy *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*: and therefore commended it to the Tutors of his Son, as the onely lesson he should learn in Latine, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit vivere. Agathocles*. Or *regnare*. was as great an Artist in this as any man, it being as necessary for him as for all those who project wicked designs, and whose abject condition or hainous crimes have set them at a great distance from glorious hopes.

F For

For noble actions and just titles have no need of dissimulation, and generous spirits will scorn to use it; because it is an evidence of baseness, and a conviction of fear. But Tyrants are never nice in any thing that is advantageous. Therefore *Agathocles*, that feared a present and immediate exercise of rule would too soon discover the cheat he had put upon the people, and so make his settlement more difficult, intended so to delude them, that they should even force him to take that which he so eagerly thirsted for, and bind the yoke of Slavery on their necks by their own Suffrages, and by their own Law give him such a power that should force their obedience. For though the multitude may be easily perswaded to any thing, yet it is difficult to keep them constant in that perswasion without a power over them. *Nothing is more unstable then Greatness founded only upon anothers pleasure; nor are the favours of any more uncertain then those of the Vulgar:* therefore though he would be raised by them, yet would he not be built upon them. To bring this about, he veils his designs with a dissembled Modesty. *A Virtue which when real is an ornament to the greatest fortunes, but most lovely in those who pretend the publick good: for nothing is more acceptable to men, then those that break anothers Tyranny, and modestly abstain from the same attempts.*

To this purpose he assembles the People and his Souldiers, to whom he remonstrates the miscarriages in Government of the Senate, and objected to them all those Crimes which use to be charged upon those that have been in power. *"To deliver therefore (saith he) the Commonwealth, the publick grievances, and not any private wrongs, have called me forth: and I could not but compassionate the Good People, though I did not feel their miseries. In the prosecution of which I confess we have used extraordinary and unusual means, but yet such which Necessity and their own arrogancies do justifie; for we could not crave helps from the Laws, when their power and partisans had obstructed the ordinary course of Judicature. And indeed the Safety of the people is the Supreme Law: nor doth Justice consist in the formality of processes, but in the equality of the punishment to the crime. As for my self, I am content to spend my daies in a perpetual banishment, so that the Commonwealth may enjoy their Liberty and Peace, being unwilling that any concernment of mine should be a fire-brand to new broils, or afford matter to civil dissensions. But if you judge me worthy to partake of the common Liberty, which with the hazard of my Life and Fortunes I have purchased for you, I am resolved to lead a private life, being abundantly satisfied with the glory of this act,*

F 2

"that

*"that I have recovered the Liberty of so good
"a people and so noble a City. And therefore
"I declare you a Free State, and that all the
"Power is in the People.*

To procure some credit to his words, he immediately divested himself of his Imperial habiliments, the badges of his office; and took the Vulgar habit, thereby declaring himself one of the Multitude, and so offered to depart out of the Assembly. The subtle Fox was secure that he ran no hazard of losing the prey for which he had so long toiled, for he knew that Assembly did consist most of such as were conscious of so much rapine and blood, that they could not suffer any other Magistrate but him that was equally polluted in the guilt: therefore all these, and every one that had no understanding of what was good nor care of evil, such that were to live by the rewards of wickedness and a ministry to Tyranny, immediately cried out, that *"He should not desert
"the good people of Syracuse, and that he
"should protect them in that Liberty of which
"he had been so glorious an Author.* He stood immovable at their first clamours, as if he were unwilling to part with those imagined delights of his resolved privacy, or were too modest to command; and with an obstinate silence provoked their more loud and fierce acclamations, *"that he should not betray them to
"them*

"*their enraged enemies, nor think he could be*
"*safe in private when the publick was in dan-*
"*ger.* Seeing his Arts so prosperous, compo-
sing himself as if he were wearied with the
desires of all, and solicitous lest his modesty
might be dangerous to the publick peace, he
doth by degrees yield; not as if he would take
the Government, but put an end to his denial
and their requests.

"*I know (saith he) how obnoxious he makes*
"*himself to Fortune who stoops to the burden*
"*of governing a free people; how easily his best*
"*actions and most prudent counsels may be blas-*
"*ted by sinister interpretations of licentious*
"*Demagogues.* For when no man can be suf-
ficiently wise concerning the future, and very
often the worst counsels have the happier e-
vents; he that sincerely intends the publick
good, may sometimes fail of his scope, and
for his cares and hazards, be rewarded with
false accusations and inauspicious surmises,
which are very offensive to persons of Integrity
who are tender of their fame. But it is
most intolerable when a faithful servant of
the Commonwealth must bear the envy of their
offences who are his partners in Government.
Therefore though I despise dangers and con-
temn reproach, that I may serve my Country
in those honest and just ends of Government;
yet am I unwilling to be loaded with the crimes

"of others, and be accountable for their mis-
 "carriages who prefer their private to the pub-
 "lick good.

His party by this understood the condition of their security, and therefore in the Assembly passed this Decree, "*That Agathocles should be the Commander in chief of all the Forces of the Commonwealth, and have the sole management of all Publick affairs.*" This Decree fully answered his desires: therefore seeming to be overcome with the kindness and love of so good a people, he thankfully undertakes the Government, and promises much faithfulness in it, and many benefits to the people by it. And from this time he publicly exercised the Tyranny, like an absolute Prince and Lawful Monarch; whenas he was in truth but a *Capo di Banditi*, a Chief of Thieves and Murderers: and this Decree could not be styled *the Consent of the People, which when they are free to give it, is the true foundation of the Supreme Power*; but a conspiracy of Traitors and publick enemies. For having killed and expelled all those whose right it was to convey, and who had most prudence to judge where to trust Authority, as a reward or guard for all Vertues; there remained very few but the Associates of his wickedness, great Criminals, that were fitter to suffer by Magistracy then to dispose of it, and the dregs of the

the People, who are the reproach, not legitimate parts, of a Community; who rather fear than desire Government, as the great restraint of their licentious lusts, and therefore are willing it should be conferred on the most corrupted persons, as from whom they expect the most abusive licence. And these likewise *Agathocles* had cajoled in his Speeches, promising a new *Agrarian* Law, and more equal division of lands, that all debts and bonds should be cancelled, and that Prisoners upon such obligations should be set at Liberty. Which are the usual tempting promises whereby Usurpers raise the hopes and get the favour and assistance of the debauched rabble: but they take as little care to perform them, as they intended faith when they promised them. And such are the good People which Tyrants so affectionately mention, and are the authors of their power and supports of their Empire.

The honestest and middle sort of the Citizens, whose obscurity and unenvied fortune had secured them in the Massacre, and whose spirits were not so high as to render them terrible to the Tyrant, nor so abject as to be forward instruments of his Lusts, were so stupefied with the horror of that Cruelty which yet was in their sight, and affrighted into a sluggish patience, that though they abounded with indignation as well as grief for the loss

of their Liberty, yet they feared the power and multitude of their enemies, so that they dissembled their passions, and deferred their revenge till a fitter season, thinking it more safe for the present, rather to expect than provoke their fortune. Others preferred present peace and security to glorious attempts with hazard. To secure and quiet these mens minds, he severely forbad the murders and rapines of his party, as if he would put an end to all injuries. *For injuries, though great, yet if perpetrated at once, and not every day renewed, do less affright and offend the minds of men.* Then to beget in them a credulity that he would behave himself but as a common Citizen, with modesty and civil gravity using that power which he had so barbarously got, he composes himself to all popular courtesies: he speaks familiarly to all; some he cajols with fair and splendid hopes; others, whom he judged more fit for business, and whose Slavery he might buy with profit, he prefers to such and such places; and to most he uses proper attractives, specious in words, but void of any reality. In himself nothing appeared new or arrogant. He forbore the use of a Crown (unless when he sacrificed, which was as Priest, not as a Prince;) he did not take to himself a select Life-guard, either for Majesty or security: nor did he affect to make addresses to him difficult, nor delighted in the tedious attendance
of

of petitioners : which are the ceremonies of Greatness, and the pleasures of weaker Tyrants. But appearing in all the shapes of humanity, and presenting these pageants of Liberty, he bound the yoke of Slavery stronger. For while he neglected these shadows of Royalty, he laid a foundation of solid power. He diverted all his care to regulate and augment the publick Exchequer, all the stores he furnished, and filled the Magazines with arms and ammunition, and increased the Navy. For he foresaw his new Principality must expect seditions at home, and invasions from abroad : and if Fortune should disperse them, yet would not his provisions be fruitless, for with them he might make some additions to his Dominion, and when Slavery was fastned at home, he might impose it abroad. Which he might easily promise to himself : for *The first steps to Power are alwaies the most difficult ; but when once that is entred on, there will not be wanting means and instruments to increase and establish it.*

By these courses did *Agathocles* endeavour to draw the minds of men. But to those that knew the Arts of Tyrants, these false Vertues were more terrible, because they did but for a time suppress those Vices which with more fury would afterwards break forth. For in so much pride and cruelty there can never be civility
and

and gentleness without design. It is reckoned among the safer Arts of Tyrants, to imitate a good and lawful Prince. But in every imitation there is something which betraies the Violence upon nature, and discovers it not to be genuine : so that notwithstanding all the industry, a Tyrant's bloody thirst, horrid lusts and desires of security and Greatness, will make him break forth into such practices as will upbraid the false colours and shadows of Vertue, and they will soon recoil to actions answerable to his principles ; as did *Agathocles*, who in a short time discovered to the whole world that he would not use that power for the benefit of men, which with their so great ruines and miseries he had acquired.

While *Agathocles* was labouring to take root, the *Syracusan* fugitives in those Cities of *Sicily* where they found Sanctuary endeavoured his overthrow, and to stir up all *Sicily* against him. Some out of a desire to return to their native soil & household-gods, others to break the yoke under which their City groaned, and some out of hatred of *Agathocles*'s fortune more then his wickedness. *It being an innate displeasure in men, to behold the sudden felicity of others, and to complain of the excess of their Fortune whom they have seen in the same level with themselves.* From these different principles every one in his place of refuge, but especially

cially at *Agigentum*, where their number was greatest, endeavoured by the Demagogues and most popular Citizens to persuade the Cities to a warre against the Tyrant. These still setting before the people in their harangues, the necessity of preventing *Agathocles* with that warre which they were undoubtedly to expect from his ambition and covetousness; the assurance of Victory from the weakness of his beginnings, and the fresh hatred of his horrid entrance; the glory of the enterprize, to subdue and extinguish so great a Monster, and restore so many miserable Exiles to their own household-gods; the danger of the Example, if so near a wickedness should pass unpunished. By these motives they easily prevailed upon the people to decree a warre against the Tyrant.

But the greatness of the warre made the undertaking slow, which lost the advantages that at first encouraged the enterprize. For doubting their single strength, they entred into confederacy with *Gela* and *Messene* to the same warre: these Treaties spent time in the managing, and the confidence that did arise from their union did lose more. For then, as not doubting the Victory, they feared that if they should make any one of their own Citizens General of their Army, he might after the overthrow of *Agathocles* follow his Example, and either make himself Tyrant, or raise his
own

own City above the rest. Therefore they would send some of the Exiles to *Sparta*, to procure from that City a person fit to be General of all their Forces. For they supposed a stranger would be more just and faithful in his trust, not having the same interests and parties that a Citizen might have; and they hoped to find another *Timoleon*, or one that should compose his conduct after his Example. But the fortune of *Sicily* was not so benigne, for instead of a Deliverer they received an effeminate and stupid Oppressor, whose Vices betrayed them into the enemies power.

For the *Agrigentine* Agents coming to *Sparta*, they found *Acrotatus* the son of *Cleomenes* King of that City, who was very desirous and importunate for this employment. For having incurred the hatred of the *Spartan* youth, because he opposed the Decree of the Senate to pardon all those that had not stoutly behaved themselves in the warre with *Antipater*, he was often assaulted by them, who conceived themselves injured by his insolency, and was continually afraid of their plots against him. He was therefore very solicitous for some forein employment, wherein by his absence he might give vent to their passions, as if he had undergone a voluntary banishment, and by removing the object of their hate, blot out the remembrance of their injuries. This
man

man the Agents accept of, whom nothing but the Nobility of his Family could commend, though his manners were extremely degenerate from the Vertue of the *Spartan* royal blood. He was insolent and high in his speeches, but base and cowardly in his actions; desirous of fame, but neither skilful nor industrious to deserve it; prone to evil, and not cunning to conceal it; fierce and severe against anothers Vices, yet indulgent to himself in baser lusts; envious at the Glory of another, as if it were his infamy, and yet a despiser of his own credit. His hatred was heightened by the glorious memory of his Ancestors. For the base descendants of worthy Parents, besides the common hate which is inseparable from wickedness, are loaded with another, for that they have defamed the stock from which they sprung, and tainted that blood which they received pure. This was the Engine wherewith the *Sicilians* were to demolish the greatness of *Agathocles*: too loose and weak a hand to dethrone a daring, industrious, and subtle Tyrant, and therefore proved his advantage, rather than his trouble.

He having undertaken the employment without the counsel of the *Ephori*, who were the Censors of the Royal family in *Sparta*, with a few ships sails towards *Sicily*: but by an ominous Tempest he was forced into the *Adriatick*.

sick sea near the territories of the *Apollonians*; where he trifles away his time in composing a peace betwixt them and *Glaucias* an *Illyrian* King, that then did besiege their City. From thence he sails to *Tarentum*, where to lose time more precious then unnecessary aid could be to the *Sicilians*, by the credit of his birth and Country he prevails with that City to enter into the *Sicilian* league, and to send twenty ships against the *Syracusan* Tyrant. And after so much loss of time which was employed in these Treaties, he comes to *Agrigentum*, where with much applause (as is usual to the Glorious assertors of Liberty) and great expectation he did enter upon his command. This expectation and opinion of the people (which wise men esteem prejudicial to any employment; because many can never correspond fully unto it, men usually desiring more then can be acquired, which doth in time turn to their dishonour and infamy) this great undertaker did labour to increase by his confident boasts, that he would speedily ruine the *Syracusan* Pot-ter, and finish that just war. But they soon found how vain were his boasts and their hopes. For they perceived how he neglected all the desirable opportunities of performing his trust, and as if he were forgetful of his enterprize, the Dignity of his Extract, and the Honour of his City, he did endeavour to erect a more heavy Tyranny then that which he was desired

to pull down. He was wholly debauched to every Lust, and as it were with the air, he had changed the *Laconian* Temperance and moderation, (eminent Vertues in the highest fortune) into Lasciviousness and Pride; more like a soft *Persian* than an hardy *Spartan*; abusing the plenty and Beauties of *Sicily* with his Lusts and riots: by which profuse courses and by stealth, he also consumed the common Treasure for the war. Nor did he abstain from blood and injuries, as if those who had called him for Liberty, knew nothing of it beyond the empty name. And to perpetuate his Tyranny, he resolved to murder *Sofistratus*, who was the most likely to head the *Sicilian* fury against him. For he was the most eminent of the *Syracusan* Exiles, and had often commanded the Armies of his Commonwealth with honour and success, being of the Nobles of that City, of a present courage and resolution, not unacquainted with the Arts and practices of Tyranny, therefore the more able to observe & oppose such designs. The *Spartan* having no colour to make him fall by the sword of Justice, nor daring to assault him by open force, uses the fatal caresses of a Tyrant, and invites him to a Feast; where when he had disarmed him by wine and gluttony, he causes him to be murdered.

The news of this Murder being divulged, the whole

whole City was filled with uproar, and the *Syracusan* Exiles, whose hopes and fortunes were built upon this war, and were therefore the most impatient at every disappointment, were highly enraged at the Death of *Sosistratus*; whom the common Calamity had endeared to them, and from whose valour and conduct they hoped for a more speedy return home. These first assault *Acrotatus*, and by their example many more were drawn to the same attempt. So that the whole City being gathered together by this tumult, vote him out of his Office and Command; and to confirm their Decrees, they assault him with such weapons as their present fury administred, as stones and the like, and dealt with him as a common Enemy never to be reconciled unto. For their offences are most hainous who disappoint the conceived hopes of a soft and just Government; and the minds of men being frustrated in their reasonable expectancies of good, are thereby the more implacable. *Acrotatus* seeing himself unequal to the peoples violence, fled out of *Agrigentum* by night, and with ignominy halted to *Sparta*, leaving behind him a discontented City, and all his broken hopes of Tyranny, of which he was more desirous than capable. For to impose Slavery upon a people without a force greater then their resistance, requires a dexterous wit to manage all occurrences to the present advantage, tedious arts,

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and time to form a party, to get some fame of valour and vertue, and to be esteemed tender of the peoples rights. Otherwise, though any one by the advantage of a trust, may assume a Principality and Tyranny, yet he cannot long hold it without such foundations. And as things that suddenly spring and grow have the shallower rooting, and are soonest pulled up: so such sudden Tyrants are easily deposed. Which was the fortune of *Acrotatus*, who by rioting and injuries would enjoy the Pleasures of Tyranny, before he had acquired the Power. *None are more apt to attempt upon the Liberty of the people, than such who are vitious and debauched; for they commonly think Principality but a security of great crimes: yet none are less able to compass their design. For he that will dare to attempt that which no honest man will, must be able to do such things which none but a prudent and stout man can perform.* Cato's observation of *Cæsar*, that he was the onely sober person that did endeavour the overthrow of the Commonwealth, was an *Augury* and fear of his success in that design. Those that are otherwise qualified, though they may disquiet and expose their Cities to ruine by their vain attempts, yet can never establish themselves in any Grandeur, nor meet with any other issue of their Designs then Destruction or Ignominy; as this *Spartan* did.

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This evil management of *Acrotatus* was not unknown to *Agathocles*, & therefore he provoked them not to fight, but waits when his enemies would fall by their own vices : wherein he was not deceived, for the league was soon broken, and the associated Cities divided their Army, and recalled their forces. For confederacies consisting of several communities have several interests ; and if they last so long till they have some prosperous success, yet are they then broken by envy and jealousies. But commonly the first adverse encounter immediately creates a fear that dissolves them ; and every one by private counsels will endeavour to provide for their own safety. Whence it comes to pass that the forces of many Confederates are less considerable, though more numerous, then those which one single Power is able to form and raise. And thus it happened with these Confederates : for the *Tarentines* recalled home their ships ; and the *Sicilian* Cities not thriving in their first heat against the Tyrant, would no longer tempt their Fortune, but by the mediation of *Amilcar*, who was able to force the dissenters and impose an agreement, they conclude a peace with the *Syracusen*. The *Carthaginian*, not intending to diminish the Greatness of *Agathocles*, as conceiving together with his power the envy and hatred of him would be increased, and so at last he would fall as an easie and rich prey to the

the *Punick* Empire, and thinking by this Peace he might secure the rights of his own City without the hazards of war, concludes a Peace upon these Articles: "That *Heraclea*, *Selinus* and *Himera*, which were Greek Colonies, should continue as before under the *Carthaginian* Empire; that all the other Cities of Sicily should be free, and live by their own laws; and that *Syracuse* should have the chiefest dignity and precedence among them.

Thus this Tempest, that threatned the ruine of the new Tyrant, being so prosperously calmed, proved like those winds, which if they are not violent enough to throw down, do advantage trees, by shaking them to a greater fastness at the root. For it settled *Agathocles* upon his foundations; because it having alarmed him to provide all the means of safety, by so necessary an industry he was enabled for any enterprise. He had gotten together, besides his Confederates and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, a choice Army of *Mercenaries* consisting of thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand five hundred Horse, and had stored himself with all kind of Arms. These Forces, being now no longer necessary for defence, he was resolved, according to the Institutes of Tyranny, to employ in fastning his Dominion at home, and increasing it abroad, by invading all the neighbouring and less potent Cities: for

if he could bind his yoke upon all the Cities about him, he should remove Liberty out of the ken, and so out of the hopes of *Syracuse*: besides, he should increase his Revenues and Forces against another storm which he foresaw was coming from *Carthage*. For from thence he had received Intelligence, that *Amilcar's* peaceful counsels were branded with sinister interpretations; and although the Senate did not dare publicly to condemn him while he was in Command, yet had they passed their sentences against him, and sealed them up in their Urne, not to be publicly recited till he returned to a private Condition. *Agathocles* therefore easily concludes what their intentions must needs be towards himself; and therefore to strengthen himself against their invasion, he endeavours to prevent them in the acquisition of as much of *Sicily* as he could, not despairing in time to grasp the Empire of the whole Island, if not by his own valour, yet he should have no small advantage from his Enemies vices, who he saw could not be unanimous in their common defence, and when they fought singly for Liberty, they would at last all be Slaves.

To prosecute this resolution, as also to busie his own vassals in resisting provoked Foreigners, and that they might vent those passions on some common enemy which else would swell

swell against him, he sets upon, and easily masters all his weaker neighbours, and vexes them with his oppressions. For a Tyrant is like that other judgement of incensed Heaven, a contagious Pestilence, which still infects and spreads it self upon all that are near unto it. Having brought these lesser Cities under his obedience, his next design was against *Messene*, which had refused to be concluded in the former Peace betwixt *Agathocles* and the other *Sicilians*, and did still retain her just hatred of the Tyrant, and therefore was become a Sanctuary for the *Syracusan* Exiles. To deprive them therefore of this harbour, and to make the *Messenians* repent even of their pity to the miserable, he was resolved to make them as miserable as their guests. To this end he sends *Pasiphilus*, one of his Captains, with a considerable party and secret instructions, to invade the territories of *Messene*, not using any publick declaration of hostility, lest he should give them time to prepare for their defence, or leisure to consult of honest means to satisfy his unjust anger; for he sought not Peace with them, but their ruine; nor cared he for their friendship, but intended their slavery. *Pasiphilus*, according to his Commands, unexpectedly falls upon their Country, surprizes many of their Citizens, wastes and plunders all their Villages, and setting forth all his actions with every advantage of terour, he affrights the

Messenians to a Treaty, which under-hand he offered to them by some of his prisoners. When they came to treat, he remonstrates unto them, that the cause of the War was their harbouring his Master's implacable enemies, the *Syracusan Banditi*; and declares, that as they were unequal to his Prince as to the prosecution of the war, and so were to fear the most danger, so should they lose nothing by his amity, if they were disposed to peace: that they were evil Counsellors to their Commonwealth, who advised them to a Confederacy with the despicable enemies of so potent a Prince.

The *Messenians* considering the present terrors and their own weakness, more than the faith of him with whom they had to doe, and hoping by this overture to end a dangerous war without any hazard to themselves, did immediately decree that all the *Syracusan* Exiles should forsake their City, and then they set open their gates to receive *Agathocles*, who was now come to them with his Army. The Tyrant at his first entrance covered his inhumane purposes with a crafty modesty; and as if he had had no arms to force his desires, by all seeming Humanity perswades them to repeal all those publick Acts and Decrees whereby they had banished certain of their lewdest Citizens for notorious crimes, and which were now in his Army, the refuge of every villain.

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Which when they had done, and received them in, who would be like a Garrison to subject them to the Tyrant, he presently sends for all such whom he knew, there & at *Tauromenium*, to be less patient of Slavery, and had formerly expressed their hatred of him; all which being about six hundred he immediately slew: for foreseeing the war he should have with the *Carthaginians*, he resolved to destroy whomsoever he could not trust.

Thus the *Messenians* too late found that there was no Humanity or Equity to be expected from a Tyrant, and when it was in vain, bewailed their cruel folly in driving out the *Syracusan* Exiles, who would have been an obstinate and impregnable guard against the forces of their enemy; as also that they had betrayed their best and stoutest Citizens, (for one-ly such hate a Tyrant;) and, which did most of all upbraid their weakness, that they had by their own votes put themselves under the basest and vilest Ministers of Slavery, their condemned and profligate *Bandits*. But now nothing was left but shame and indignation at their own Credulity and the Tyrant's baseness, who was not at all ashamed, that by such unworthy arts he had compassed his design. For Tyrants that seek after power, and not glory, that thirst for blood more than an honest fame, refuse not the most wicked, if they be also

compendious, waies to attain their ends. Whereas Generous Spirits had rather maintain their Greatness by Justice, and esteem that the most evident testimony of Valour and Power to be at once both great and good, and not by injuries to ascend to superiority. The *Romans* denied a triumph to those their Consuls, who to overthrow their enemies had polluted their arms with unjust and wicked arts, and never accounted that a Victory which was infamous. *Viriathus*, they conceived, fell with more honour than he that finished the war with buying his life, and hired his servants to his murder: for he seemed to upbraid the *Roman* weakness, that could not overcome a *Spanish* Thief by noble waies. And as they hated the unworthy waies of poison and Treason to finish a war; so while they were uncorrupted in their Discipline, they were Religiously scrupulous in the beginning of any: for they never sent forth their Armies till they had sought for justice in the tracts of Peace, and after the publick promulgation of their intent. Such also was the Integrity of the *Achaans*, before they had fore-warned their enemy to a defence. *Machiavel* commends the Simplicity of the ancient *Florentines*, that enterprized no hostility on their neighbours, till they had by ringing a Bell for the space of a whole moneth admonished their enemy to a peaceable satisfaction, or a brave resistance. But every Tyrant makes his
war

war impious, if not in the cause, yet in the management; and more like thieves than Princes, aim onely to deceive, not to conquer their enemies.

Agathocles being thus successfully wicked at *Messene*, designs *Agrigentum* for his next prey; his false Ambition not suffering him to continue that Peace which his Necessity had forced him to make with them. But the *Carthaginian* Fleet, consisting of sixty sail of ships, hovering upon the coasts of *Sicily*, diverted his arms from revenge, on the *Carthaginian* territories, whose Countries he wasted with fire and sword, took some of their Garrisons by force, and others were delivered upon composition. This Hostility betwixt *Carthage* and *Syracuse* made *Dinocrates*, (who since *Sosistratus*'s death was become the chief of the *Syracusan* Exiles) and the other Confederates, hope for the assistance of the *Punic* arms against this restless Tyrant. To them therefore they sent an Embassie, with bitter complaints against *Amilcar*, and invectives against *Agathocles*. The last they set forth as a merciless, perjured, and bloody Tyrant. The other they accused as a Traitor, that by secret compact had delivered up the lives and fortunes of the *Carthaginian* friends into the hands of a most cruel enemy: and that as the earnest of this Treachery, *Syracuse*, a potent and rich City, an

emulous

emulous contender with *Carthage* for the Empire of *Sicily*, was first betrayed into his hands; and under the name of Peace many other confederate Cities had since been exposed to his rapines. If therefore that Mighty Commonwealth and wise Senate should not be more vigorous to punish their treacherous servant, and to quench the Tyrant's thirst of Empire with his own blood, they would soon feel in *Africa* the dismal effects of their neglect of *Sicily*.

This Embassie enraged *Carthage*, and they were more keenly resolved to make *Amilcar* satiate their anger with an ignominious punishment. But either by a natural or a voluntary death he prevented the unjust fury of his own Citizens, who had condemned him before he could plead his innocence. So barbarously ungrateful are most Commonwealths to their chiefest servants: who if they thrive abroad, are ruined at home by Jealousie and Envy; if they are not successful, then the Capricious of Fortune are accounted the miscarriages of their Generals, and their Unhappinesse esteemed for Crimes. None were more infamous in this way of cruelty then the *Carthaginians*, who often expiated the dishonour of their overthrow with their Commander's head. There-
** Aur. viii. de fore * Annibal*, that commanded
virtu illust. the Navy in their first Roman
 war, being beaten, and losing his Navy, makes
 hast

hast to *Carthage*, to prevent any other messenger of his misfortune, and in the Senate declares onely the state of his and the Enemies forces as they were before the fight, and inquires what they would command to be done: *they all cried out, he should fight. I have* (saith he) *and am beaten*: and so escaped the punishment of the Cross. - But this *Amilcar* was either a person of a sluggish soul, and so veiled his cowardize under the name of Peace, and vainly thought that specious name would please a people that made war for gain: Or else of more fine counsels then resolute action, and thought the discovery of his mysteries would justify his practices, that he had laid his designs so deep, that in time they would easily undermine all the power of the *Syracusan* Potter, without the cost and hazard of the *Punick* blood and treasure. But *counsels too finely spun are easily broken, and so deep a contrivance agrees not with the impatience of the Vulgar, to whom speedy undertakings seem alwaies most heroick; and slow, yet sure, practises are interpreted by them as the motions of false or base spirits.* Or else *Amilcar* might be too conscious that his covetous soul had been corrupted with the bribes and promises of *Agathocles*, a vice which *Aristotle* taxes in the *Carthaginian* Government, and therefore neglected the care of an Apology, which too evident crimes did render vain, and a contempt of death unne-

unnecessary. And thus fell *Amilcar*.

Dinocrates with the other Exiles waited not idly for the effect of their Embassie and the *Carthaginian* preparations, which they knew would be slow, but were very active for their own restitution. And therefore he sent forth a party under the Command of *Nymphodorus* to *Centorippa*, a Garrison of *Agathocles*, where he held a Correspondence with some of the City, who promised to deliver up the town to him upon condition of restoring their Liberty. The Governour had discovered the plot, yet suffers *Nymphodorus* to enter the town by night, where he cuts him off with his whole party. *Agathocles* was not more glad for the defeat of the Exiles, then for the opportunity he now had to seize upon the wealth of the Citizens, as being engaged in a Conspiracy against him, which he greedily takes from them with their lives, as being too great lovers of Liberty to breath in the same air with a Tyrant. This loss broke not the courage of *Dinocrates*, but he having yet about three thousand foot and not less then two thousand horse, possesses himself of *Calaria*, whether he was invited by a party of the City; where immediately he drives out the Faction that was for *Agathocles*, and incamps before the Town. The Tyrant upon the first intelligence, sent *Pasiphilus* & *Demophilus* with a party of five thousand against him. These inga-

ingaging with the Exiles commanded by *Dinocrates* and *Philonides*, who led the several wings of their Army, the victory was for some time doubtful: but at last the Tyrants fortune prevailed, for *Philonides* being slain, and his wing routed, *Dinocrates* was forced to retreat. *Pasiphilus* in the pursuit kills many of the enemy, and recovers *Calaria*. Where, like his Master's servant, he omitted no act of cruelty and extortion upon the miserable Citizens. For the Ministers of a Tyrant are educated by him to the nature of mastives, that they should only fawn upon him that feeds them, and be cruel and bloody to every one else. Proud with this Victory, *Agathocles* hastens with all the forces he could make to fight the *Carthaginians*, that were drawn out into the field, and had incamped on the hill *Ecnome*. But the *Africans* refusing the battel, as expecting more succours, he returns in triumph to *Syracuse*, as being the confessed Master of the Field, and with the spoils he had taken from the two wretched Cities, he doth adorn the best of his Ships.


Thus success waited upon the sword of *Agathocles*: his designs being still crowned with an issue greater then his hopes, as if Fortune no less then *Syracuse* were become his Slave. Had that slavish and prodigious Flattery been then invented, which our age hath heard practised
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to a prosperous wickedness ; he had been called the beloved darling of the Gods, and his creatures would have persuaded the miserable *Sicilians*, that Heaven had by this success sealed a grant of what by blood and perjury he had pre-usurped. But this was too gross a cheat to be imposed even upon the lying *Greeks*, and flattering *Sicilians* : who though they should have wanted so much light, as might fully discover that the Patronage of iniquity was incompatible with a Deity ; yet common observation afforded them most clear evidences, that Adversity and Prosperity do not constitute the differences of Good and Bad ; and that the most uninterrupted Success cannot calcine a wicked action to the purity of Vertue, which is the true and proper object of the love of Heaven : so that it would have been an attempt to undermine all honesty, and root out Religion, to attribute the love of a Deity, which is the reward and ornament due to justice onely, to impious persons, though never so prosperous. Besides, they daily saw that present successes are never intended by the Supreme Guider of the world, to be as hostages to secure those which receive them of a perpetual Felicity. So that neither his Love, nor his Laws of Right and Wrong could be read or interpreted by the changeable and unsteady light which is found in Humane affairs. Some of those whose sober breasts were never betrai-

betrayed by a constant prosperity to insolence, but have seriously considered the uncertainties of our mortal condition, have suspected the Prodigality of their own fortunes, and been jealous even of the too much indulgence of Providence, and like wary Favorites, who doubting lest the effects of their Prince's love should be afterwards the object of his envy, have therefore professed a satiety in receiving, and offered to resign what they feared they could not keep. So some of those that considered the vicissitudes of humane affairs have been so far from interpreting their sudden and violent Prosperity for the evidence of the affection of Heaven, that they have doubted, whether by it they were marked out for the mockeries of Fortune, and that they were raised to such an height, from whence there was no descent but by a precipice. Some therefore have laboured to prevent their fortune, and leave her before they were left by her, and contemned her embraces, that they might not be sensible of her strokes. Others have thought to offer to their evil Genius, and by a voluntary loss or dissembled misfortune to satisfy their more adverse destinies. Thus the *Samian* Tyrant with the loss of his Ring would have bribed his fortune to no more dismal change. And *Augustus* bounded the *Roman* greatness, for fear of provoking its overthrow; and to divert the envy of his Thundering *Jupiter*, did dissemble a poverty, and yearly

yearly begge. But *Agathocles* grew insolent with his present success, and promised to himself more gainful fruits of his wickedness than he had as yet received. But fortune that had thus far flattered him, did immediately forsake him, and discovered the hatefulness of his designs in a desperate state.

L I B. II.

HE *Carthaginians* about this time awakened with the daily information of *Agathocles* success, decreed to prosecute their war in *Sicily* more seriously, and to be more intent upon that glory and interest which they had there so long neglected. For they gave no heed to the sad relations and Embassies of the *Syracusan Banditi*, because they knew such mens hopes and desires to return home made them believe and relate things far from truth: nor did they value the faith of *Exiles*, because such when they find other waies of restitution to their Country, do betray the interest of those whom they have before excited to it, and so render

render all those perils and charges fruitless, which were at first undertaken for their sakes and upon their promises. But when *Agathocles* had through their neglect prevailed so far, as that he could now slight their power and despise their forces, they were more solicitous to provide for that war. They make *Amitcar* the son of *Gisgo*, one of their most eminent Citizens, their General. A Person of a well-tempered courage, in whom the stoutness of a Soldier was mixed with the wisdom that was requisite for a Commander: he had been seldom unfortunate, but always faithful, of Candour enough to reconcile and assure a doubtful friend, and of sufficient resolution to force an obstinate enemy. They allow him for this Expedition an hundred and thirty Gallies for service, and send with him two thousand of their own Citizens, among whom were many of their Nobles; ten thousand *Libyans*, one thousand *Tuscan* mercenaries, one thousand slingers of the Islands called *Baleares*, two thousand Chariots, with such a proportion of Money, Arms and Corn as was thought convenient for the design. The greatness of their Army did almost ascertain them of victory, and therefore they loosed from the Haven with that alacrity and jollity, as if they went to spoil *Sicily*, and not to conquer it. But this power that seemed so terrible to the *Greeks*, became the mockery of the

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winds: for in a sudden tempest they lost sixty of their Gallies, two hundred Vessels that carried the provisions, many of their Nobility, and a great number of their less considerable Souldiers. This news coming to *Carthage*, caused a publick mourning, which they were used to express by hanging their City walls with blacks.

The remains of this shipwreckt Fleet weathered out the Storm, and with much difficulty got into *Sicily*: where *Amilcar* by his good conduct and dexterous management did in some sort correct the malignity of their fortune: for comforting and chearing up their spirits that had escaped the wreck, he takes into pay all the mercenary souldiers that he could meet with in the Island, then out of every City under the *Carthaginian* Dominion he collects the choicest youth; all which he joins with those forces of his City that were there before incamp'd, and enlarges their camp in the same place, having provided all other things necessary for the War. By this his exceeding diligence, and the fame of a fortunate and stout Commander, he soon raised the hopes of his Confederates, struck a terrour into his Enemies, and inspired courage into his own Army, which now consisted of forty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, so that *Carthage* was scarce sensible of the loss at Sea. *So brave Com-*

Commanders do by wise counsels, as by remedies, heal the wounds which their Countries receive from Fortune. And Heaven seemed by the Storm to have onely presented to *Amilcar* an opportunity to Glory, that his great Vertues might appear in adverse accidents.

On the other side *Agathoches* was not so much troubled at these great preparations of the Enemy, though they did far exceed his forces, as at the conscience of his own Perfidiousness, which examples he feared would provoke an imitation in his own Vassals. For he suspected the revolt of most of the Towns he had garrison'd, that they being secured to him by no stronger a bond of subjection then a Fear of his Cruelty, which is but an ill mistress of Obedience, would soon surrender themselves up to the *Carthaginians*, and that the injured Cities would embrace this opportunity of Revenge, and combine with the Enemy. His greatest sollicitude was to secure *Gela*, of which he was most jealous, and which was likeliest to give the first Example of a Revolt, and might most securely doe it, the *Africans* being intamped within their Territories: and the loss of twenty of his Ships together with all their lading, being taken by the Enemy in that harbour, increased his fears, and made him more solicitous to secure that City by a Garrison. This he did not dare openly to attempt, lest

the *Geloans*, who watched an opportunity to honest their Revolt, should take this advantage of delivering themselves up to the *Carthaginians*, which would be of great loss to him, and emolument to his Enemies. He therefore attempts them by Stratageme. Some of his most daring Souldiers he habits as Peasants and Pedlers, that seemed to mind no business less then a surprize: these he sends into the Town by several waies and small companies, with their arms concealed, as coming to traffick, and continues the supply of them, till he conceived them equal to the Cities strength, and able to secure the gates for his entrance. After them he follows with his whole Army, and entring without any resistance, he presently summons the people, and in a fierce and short speech charges them "*of contrasting with the Old Enemy, for the slavery of all the good people of Sicily.*" Then, not to give them time to prove their Innocence, (for it was not their Faith he desired, but their Mony and their Town) he immediately gives order to his Souldiers to slay the wealthiest *Geloans*, which were above four thousand; and makes a Proclamation, that whosoever had Mony or Plate, and did not immediately bring it forth to him, should suffer the tortures that were due to the Betrayers of their Country. This Slaughter and Terrours furnish'd the Tyrant with a vast sum of Mony, but a greater Hatred: for though
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by these waies he terrified all his Vassals, yet this was but a weak security for their Allegiance, the *Sicilians* being rather overcome then subdued; and it is easier to make Subjects than to keep them. Men may submit to the force of arms, but they will never obey but a just power. *Agathocles* himself also did doubt the effects of this Cruelty; therefore that the number of the slain might not be known, he buries the dead bodies in the Town-ditch.

Leaving a Garrison in *Gela*, he marches towards the Enemy, who had incamped on the Hill *Ecnome*, or the wicked hill: for the Tyrant *Phalaris* having formerly there kept his Engine of Torment, the Brazen Bull, he had made the place infamous by his Cruelty; which did now seem to expiate the ignominy, by affording ground to those that were ready to punish a bloodier Villain then he that first dishonoured it. Over against them on another hill, that had also been a fortification of *Phalaris*, did *Agathocles* pitch his Tent. Betwixt both Armies ran the River *Himera*, which either used for their defence, while they forbore fighting, which was for some time, because the place had struck a terrour into both parties; for at that time there was a tradition of an ancient Prophecy, that in that place there should fall a great number of men in battal: and the Prediction not being so clear as to dis-

cover on which side the loss should be, both Armies were suspicious of their fortune, and not daring in a full body to pass the River, their Superstition and fear kept them from engaging.

At length this accident drew them forth. The *Libyans* (whose Valour is wholly out of themselves, and their confidence in the swiftness of their horses) did usually pass the River to forage in the Enemies quarters. *Agathocles* not to lie idle, nor betray any fear by his quietness, was tempted to the like, and therefore sends a party upon the same design into the *Punick* quarters: these having done their business, returning heavy with booty, a party of the *Carthaginians* issued out of their Trenches to recover the spoil. This the *Syracusan* had foreseen, and therefore had laid an Ambush near the River, who, when the *Africans* were eager in the pursuit, and had inconsiderately passed the River, suddenly assaulted them, and chased them back to their own Trenches. *Agathocles*, who had seen all the action, grew insolent with the success of his Stratageme, and thought that now Victory courted him; and intending to take the advantage of this disorder of the Enemy, drew forth his whole Army to assault them within their Fortifications. Which being done with extraordinary speed, they had filled up the
ditches,

ditches, broke down the Trenches, and entred the Camp, before the *Carthaginians* that were surprized could range themselves in order for defence. But confusedly (as it is usual in sudden assaults) disposing themselves in that place and Order which Fortune and their Courage did present, they stoutly endeavoured to avoid the ignominy of being beaten within their own defences. But the *Greeks* as eagerly followed their advantages, quickned with the hope of ending the War with this one Conflict; so that their courage and number still increased within the Camp; and the *Africans* hindered by their own disorders losing ground, they were not far from Victory, until *Amilcar* ranged and in good order opposed to them the Mercenaries of the *Balearick* Islands, who sling stones of above the weight of a *Mina*, and being exact at the scope which they intend, (it being their onely weapon, and their continual practice from their infancy) poured such a showre of stones upon the *Greeks*, that forced them to quit their ground and forsake the Trenches. *Agathocles* notwithstanding despaired not of success, but in another quarter assaults the Camp: and when he had filled up the ditches, and was almost master of the trenches, behold another party of *Carthaginians*, that were but just then landed, as they drew near to the Camp, hearing the shouts and noise of them that were fighting, made hast, and set upon

the Enemies in the back; so striking a terrour greater then their strength upon the *Greeks*, who were yet stoutly opposed in the Front, that they believed that they were assailed by a bigger Army then they did assault, and therefore sought for safety by flight, as despairing of victory over so numerous an Enemy. Some ran towards their Camp, who being pursued by the *Africans*, strewed all the way with their dead bodies. Others fled by the banks of *Himera*, and met with as certain a death as that they feared from the sword of their Enemies: for thirsty through rage and toil of the Battel, which happened to be at noon in the Dog-daies, they drank so greedily of the brackish water, that they immediately fell down dead; & they were not fewer who were found dead without any wounds all along the banks of the River, then those that were wounded and slain in the rout, *Agathocles* having lost above seven thousand, and the *Carthaginians* but five hundred. Thus Providence did as it were strive by reiterated strokes to curb the present insolence of this inhumane Tyrant. First, by snatching the Victory almost out of his possession, in such a juncture bringing an unexpected force, that did both confound his orders and break his vigour: upon such uncertain moments does the fortune of Battels and the fate of Kingdomes depend. And secondly, he did increase the loss, and destroy the hopes of a second attempt, by cutting
off

off those whose unwounded bodies might have renewed the fight.

Agathocles himself, reserved for a longer plague to mankind, escaped to his Tents, where gathering up the pieces of his broken Army, he burns his Camp, and hastens to *Gela*, but caused a report to be raised that he was fled to *Syracuse*: this afforded him an opportunity of some small Revenge upon three hundred *Africans*, who being informed by the Prisoners that the Tyrant was retreated to *Syracuse*, securely entred into *Gela*, as suspecting no enemy in it; but they found him and their destruction there together. He had not shut himself up there because he could not get to *Syracuse*, but upon design to draw the *Carthaginians* to besiege that place, that he might gain time to fortifie and victual *Syracuse* for the future events of the war. But *Amilcar*, that at first had thought to have lain down before *Gela*, hearing it was well mann'd and sufficiently stored to endure a tedious Siege, changed his resolutions, and applies himself to take in those other Towns which now courted him for acceptance. *Camarina*, *Leontium*, *Catana* and *Taurromenium*, upon the first news of the Victory gave themselves up to the *Carthaginian* Commands: a few daies after *Messene*, *Abacanum*, and many other Cities submitted to *Amilcar*, who courteously treating all, and imposing

imposing easie conditions, made them prefer the *Punick*, a noble, though a forein, bondage, to the ignominious service of an abject Potter: and generally through the whole Island the Overthrow of *Agathocles* gave a liberty to all to express their hatred of him. For *when people cease to fear those that rule onely by it, they begin to hate them.* And it was not so much the loss of one Battel, as his own Perfidiousness and Cruelty, that tore the yoke from the *Sicilians* necks. *Cruel Emperour, though they be absolute, yet are not lasting.*

The Tyrant hearing the daily defection of the Cities, and that his own Wickedness and the *Punick* fortune had left him nothing but *Syracuse*, he draws out all his forces from *Gela*, and with hast retreats thither, lest the Example of others and the Terroure of the Enemy might tempt it to the same faith. There he employes the remains of his Army to repair and fortifie the Walls, to fetch as much Provision as they could from the adjoining Country, and to fit all things necessary for a long Siege. For his bold and restless soul, that knew not how to live unless a Tyrant, had revolved all things, and perswaded to every trial. For *to men that have lost their first hopes any thing that is future doth seem best.* At last he projected to transfer the War from the Island to the Continent; and when he was over-matched with
but

but a part of the *Carthaginian* force in *Sicily*, he would dare their whole strength in *Africa*.

This design, which on another Enemy had been rash and dangerous, did now appear safe and easie. For the long Peace and Prosperity of the *Africans* had softned them to an impatience of enduring the toils of War; and the too jealous arts of Empire which the *Carthaginians* used, (as to disarm all their Vassals, and to embase by cruel Oppressions their less potent Confederates) did assure him of but a weak opposition, and that by such an unexpected Invasion he should obtain enough spoil to repair all his losses at home, and that the success of one Battel would force his Enemies to call home their forces to guard their own Cities. Therefore when it was the general expectation that he should submit to the conquering fate of *Carthage*, his Mind seemed to grow greater by his Miseries, and that he would still look Fortune in the face.

To execute this project, he chuses out such of his Souldiers as he thought fittest for the enterprize, and gave order that the Horsemen should provide themselves onely of Saddles and Bridles, that when he should get some *African* horse, they might not want necessaries to mount them: for although in the late overthrow

throw the loss fell most upon the Foot, and he had saved all his Horse; yet he wanted convenient time and Vessels to transport them. Then to prevent any Treachery in his absence, he made his brother *Antander* Governour of *Syracuse*: and to secure him from Seditions and Revolts, he divides every Family, the Children from the Fathers, and the Brothers one from another, carrying one part along with him as Hostages for their quiet subjection that tarried at home: for he conceived that though their Hate were never so high against him, yet would they forbear any practices, lest he should revenge their efforts upon those their Friends he had with him. Then to increase both his Army and the Garrison, he manumitted all the Slaves, and put them into arms. At home he thought they would be ready to discover the secret counsels of their Masters, & so they are often made use of by Tyrants; abroad they would raise an emulation in the free-men to a Military hardiness and bold attempts. His next care was how to get Money, and to this he forbore no Wickedness that he could imagine profitable. He seizeth upon the Stock and goods of young Orphans, forcing it from their Guardians, declaring that he was fitter for that trust than they, and promising that when they came of age, he would restore all again more faithfully: he forced a Loan from the richest Merchants, despoiled the Women of all their golden

den Ornaments, and robbed every Temple of the consecrated Offerings. Then being informed of the discontents of many of the richest Citizens, who referred all their present Troubles and Dangers to his insatiable appetite of Greatness, he calls an assembly of the People, and with a countenance composed to grief and tears he speaks after this manner to them.

*"That War is alwaies accounted just which
 "is necessary, and then Arms are deemed pi-
 "ous, when they are the last refuge of those
 "that use them. This is that which doth ad-
 "just the proceedings of this Commonwealth
 "against our Old Enemy, the faithless and
 "barbarous Carthaginians, a people made for
 "the plague of the World, and with whom
 "Peace is more dangerous then War. For their
 "Religion is Cruelty, and by a cursed emula-
 "tion they are more bloody then the Gods they
 "worship; being inhumane to their own Chil-
 "dren, and barbarously ingrateful to their most
 "faithful Commanders. How miserable then
 "must it needs be to be their Slaves? These,
 "when Africk had nothing left but Sands and
 "Desarts which had not submitted to their vio-
 "lent and perfidious arts, to recreate their
 "wanton thirst of blood and treasure, have in-
 "vaded Sicily, pretending no other cause of
 "war but our generous love of Liberty, and
 "their*

" their boundless desire of Tyranny. To whose
 " attempts, had the Gods been pleased to favour
 " our just arms, we had put an issue at the
 " Battel of Himera, and forced them to
 " bound their Insolencies with the Sea. But
 " Fortune, not their Valour, snatched the Vi-
 " ctory from us there, and hath now brought
 " them to our Walls: where unless we behave
 " our selves as persons worthy of Liberty, we
 " must endure the heaviest Slavery, and in
 " chains be the abject Spectators of the Rapes of
 " our Wives, the Murders of our Children
 " & aged Parents, & see them wanton with that
 " Wealth which hath been the price of our sweat
 " & blood. For how can we expect a tolerable
 " Peace from them, who make War not for Glo-
 " ry, but for Wealth and Lust? And in vain
 " should we expect Faith from them that are
 " the Examples of Perfidy to the whole world.
 " So that the continuance of the War as well as
 " the beginnings are not matter of our choice, but
 " necessity. If any shall imprudently condemn
 " us, that we rather provoked then expected this
 " Punick Arms, they are forgetful of the duty
 " of a wise Prince, who ought to foresee dangers,
 " and not decline a present Hazard to prevent a
 " future Ruine. Nor can that people escape
 " the censure of being imprudent, which is
 " in love with a present Peace, that they will
 " sit still, untill their Enemy hath by enslaving
 " all their less potent Neighbours made him-
 self

"self too strong for their resistance. Such re-
 "solutions therefore that are necessary, are not
 "subject to blame or praise; neither are they to
 "be measured by the Event: for many times
 "sage Counsels want that desired Success which
 "often attends those that are indiscreet. And
 "if the approbation of either should depend upon
 "the Issue, men would be encouraged to erre, and
 "disheartned from giving their Country those
 "safe advices which are the resolves of Pru-
 "dence. Since therefore it was neither in our
 "power, nor should it have been our choice, to
 "have avoided the War, and that the Gods
 "would not give Victory as the Merit of our
 "Cause; if we will retain our Liberty (which
 "should be more precious then our Lives) there
 "remains nothing now to doe, but stoutly to
 "wait for the return of our Fortune, and with
 "patience endure the miseries of a Siege, which
 "I doubt will be very great: yet I that have
 "learned to be unhappy, can easily endure, for
 "it is some alleviation of misery to know the
 "greatness of our Misfortune; but my spirit
 "is grieved for those of the Good people that
 "must be shut up with me, and must be neces-
 "sitated to endure those unaccustomed dangers
 "and continual fears. Therefore I require all
 "such as thinke themselves unequal to so adverse
 "a fortune; to forsake the Town, and secure
 "themselves and their goods where they can hope
 "for most Peace and Safety.

All

All those that were Rich, whose abundance made them soft, and who feared to hazard their Wealth to maintain the Tyrants Greatness, and such whose Hate of him made them willing to leave the den of such a Monster, were credulous of what he said, and accepted of this profer'd Liberty. But they soon learn that *a Tyrant is never to be believed, even in his most melting expressions, or lowest condition*: for he had appointed his Mercenaries to kill them as they offered to depart, and to seize their goods. Thus by a compendious Villany he delivered himself of sixteen hundred men which he did not dare to trust in the Town, and enriched himself with their Goods, which they were removing farther from him.

Having by these wicked arts provided all things necessary for his purpose, the rest that he could not order he permits to Fate, knowing that *something must be ventured, and that many things which exceed the providence of man, are often by Fortune disposed for the best*. That his provisions and Souldiers together with himself and his Son *Archagathus* he brings a ship-board, so waiting for an opportunity to get out of the Haven; resolving to take his counsels for that from the accidents of Fortune: for *many times such counsels do discover themselves in working, which in a bare expectation had been for ever lost*. The concealment of his Design

was

was no less wonderful then the boldness of it ; for he had communicated his intentions to none, either through his natural Pride, or fear of discovery and disappointment, or doubting the contradiction of his Friends and Counsellors, which is the common bane of Counsels : For men commonly through opiniastrere dislike and labour to overthrow those designs which, though never so noble, proceeded not from themselves. Or fearing the discouragement of his Army : For *Vulgar spirits are always enemies to difficult undertakings.* Therefore for some or all these reasons, he suppressed his Intentions, onely giving forth that he had found out a new and safe way of Victory. This great concealment caused several discourses among the *Speculativi.* "Some conceived that this way was to sail into *Italy*, and there gather up such whom great necessities made hazardous, and with them to attempt the fortune of a second Battel. Others, that his intent was to land his little party in some other places of that Island that were under the *African Empire*, and so divert the Enemy from the Siege of *Syracuse.* But all concluded those unhappy men as lost and devoted to destruction, that were forced to follow the Rashness of such a Commander that seemed infatuated to ruine. So they wept over their Friends and Kindred, whose miserable departure from among the living seemed

to be respited onely by the *Carthaginian* Fleet that then lay in the mouth of the Haven.

This Obstruction had so long delaied *Agathocles*, that he grew almost mad: to get forth he saw it was impossible, and to stand still was dangerous. Therefore when his restless Mind had presented many plots, and upon the rejecting of one had suggested another, and none would attain his end; at length Fortune administered such an advantage, as his own Reason or Power could never have invented or made. For some of the Victualling vessels that had been sent forth to bring Provisions to the City were now returning, and being come somewhat near the shore, were discovered by the Enemy, who presently with their whole Fleet made up to take them, and by this means left the mouth of the Haven open to *Agathocles*; who not to let slip this joyfull season, with a full spread sail made out to Sea. The *Carthaginians*, that had now almost attacked the Victuallers, seeing the *Greeks* coming out with so many Ships, at first thought they intended the rescue of the Victuallers, and so left off the chase of them, and prepared themselves for fight. But seeing they kept a straight course, and that they had now gotten some distance from them, they then let themselves to the pursuit of *Agathocles*; and by this means gave opportunity to the Victuallers, being thus strangely delivered, safely

to unlade at *Syracuse*, and to store that City, which already began to suffer scarcity. And *Agathocles* encouraging his Sailors to the greatest diligence of keeping that advantage of distance which they had already gotten before the *Panick Fleet*, was preserved out of their hands all the day, till towards Evening the Enemy, who were better Sea-men, coming up close, and being almost ready to ingage him, the approaching Night rescued him out of that danger. Thus this bold attempt had as wonderful a success: and Heaven intending to humble the *Carthaginian* Pride by a baffled Enemy, removed those obstructions which seemed invincible. Hence it was evident, that though men cannot resist Providence, yet they may administer unto it, and may weave the webs though they cannot break the threads thereof: therefore they ought never to abandon themselves, nor knowing their end: and though Providence traverseth unknown waies, yet have they reason to follow it, and to hope in whatsoever condition they find themselves.

But though they had thus passed over the dread of the *Africans*, the next day his whole Army was assaulted with a new Terrour. For there happening an exceeding great Eclipse of the Sun, whereby it was so dark that it appeared like the return of Night, and many Stars did appear, the ruder Souldiers ignorant of

the reason, apprehended it as a sad Omen of their present Affairs, and were the more fit for such impressions by the as yet fresh fears of their late dangers. For *affrighted spirits are easily moved to Superstition; and that which in Peace had been looked upon as a Chance or the ordinary course of Nature, was now called Fate and the Anger of the Gods.* First Religion, then Fear invaded their minds: for they bewailed this *“as a portent of a most dismal
“and comfortless issue, and the design was such,
“as the Sun would not afford light, being con-
“trary to the minds of the Gods drawn forth
“to unknown Coasts.* Agathocles, though he (as all Tyrants) was not subject to the fears of Heaven, nor capable of any apprehension that looked like Religion, and so was apt to condemn these affrightments of the Vulgar; yet doubtful how far such might work the fears of the common rout, to a revengeful fury of turning all the mischief of this Prodigy upon his head who exposed them to the dangers, was therefore solicitous to take off the Terror by a dexterous Interpretation. For *such insignificant signs, which the Vulgar take for the messages of Heaven, may receive contrary comments, according to the humour and interest of him that is the Augur: and it is the Event only that gives them the authentickness of an Oracle.* He therefore himself turns Augur, and expounds this obscure Text to his own advantage.

tage. For he tells them, "that if this Portent had
 "happened before they began their Expedition,
 "then might they justly have feared the sad ef-
 "fects thereof; but it now coming after so fortunate
 "a beginning, it must be conceived to presage
 "all its dangers to those against whom the Ex-
 "pedition is intended. Besides, such defects of
 "the natural Luminaries alwaies note the
 "change of affairs; but a change could not be
 "terrible to them that were beneath the level of
 "Danger, but to the flourishing estate of victo-
 "rious Carthage. And that this Portent did
 "directly strike at them was certain, because
 "they were the Worshipers of the Sun, and the
 "labours of a God did alwaies signify the ago-
 "nies and ruines of his Idolaters. This Expo-
 sition did relieve the spirits of his Army, and
 made them with more chearfulness endure the
 hazards and toils of six daies & nights continued
 sailing. For nothing more strongly leads the Mul-
 titude then Superstition; and when this hath
 seized on them, they will with more readiness
 follow their Priests, then their Captains.

On the seventh day in the morning they were
 within ken of the coast of *Africk*, and at the
 same time discovered the *Carthaginians* not far
 from them. Thereupon both parties plying
 their Oars and Sails, strove which should first
 compass their design. The *Carthaginians* ho-
 ped to make this the last act to the conquest of
 I 3 Sicily,

Sicily, all the opposition of which was carried in those Bottomes. Fear quickned the *Greeks* to avoid most bitter Tortures in themselves, and the Slavery of all that was dear unto them at *Syracuse*. Therefore each side contended and doubled their diligence, according to their hopes or fears. The *Africans* had the advantage of Oars and Sails; the *Sicilians* in the nearest distance to the shore, and the number of fighting men aboard. The foremost of the Tyrant's Vessels had attained the shore, and landed some men, when the hindermost were attacked by the Enemy. But many *Greeks* having now a firm footing on land, by their Bows and Slings forced back the *Punic* Fleet, and made them forsake the Vessels they were almost seized of, not having an equal number of men; nor could they so certainly direct their Arrows out of the Ships, as those that had a stable footing.

The Tyrant being got upon the Continent, presently lands all his men at a place called the *Quarries*, and having raised a slight Trench drew all his Ships aground; which with another act of boldness answerable to his design he was resolved to burn. For if he would preserve them, he must weaken his small strength by leaving a guard for their defence, otherwise they would fall into the hands of his Enemies. Besides, by this means he should necessitate his Army to a Victory; for when they had lost the

the means and hopes of a Return, they must either conquer or perish. To perform this, he saw he must proceed by Art, for the Souldiers would not easily consent to lose all hopes of return to their Native soil. Therefore he first deals with those Captains and Masters of the Ships he did most confide in, and inviting them to a Sacrifice which he made to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, the *Sicilian* Goddesses, he acquaints them, and perswades them to further his counsels. Then calling the whole Army together, he comes forth amongst them habited with Priestly garments, and a Crown on his head, (which he wore as a Priest, for he had not yet assumed that ensign of Royalty) he acquaints them with his design in coming into *Africk*, and speaks to this purpose.

" Our happy and safe arrival in Africk can-
" not make either you or me forget the dangers
" of Syracuse, where we left the good people of
" that Commonwealth, with all that can make
" us desirous of life, and sweeten our toils for
" wealth and glory, besieged by our Old bloody
" Enemy the Carthaginians. To deliver them
" and our selves from present Ruine there was
" no way left, but either by unworthy conditions
" to lengthen out our lives in Slavery, for which
" we could have no security from a perfidious
" Enemy; or to trust to our own swords, and
" by a brave resistance of our adverse fortune
I 4 "wrest

“wrest the Victory from our Conquerours. To
“execute this Heroick resolution was not to suf-
“fer our selves to be pent up in the walls of a
“Town, for there we must have fought with
“Famine no less then with the Enemy, where
“our wants would have broke our faith: The
“fears and cries of our Wives and Children
“would have disarmed us, and quenched our
“noble heats for Victory, and importuned us
“to a present, though uncertain, security with
“Bondage, rather then to continue the dangers
“of a Siege for Liberty and Glory. But the
“surest and easiest way is to transport the War
“into Africk, and carry that flame which would
“have consumed us in Sicily, to the gates of
“Carthage. For the advantages in that War
“which is managed in an Enemies Country are
“far greater then in that which we are forced
“to wage at home. In this last we can expect
“no succours but what that remnant of our
“wasted Country, which our Enemies will leave
“unto us, can afford. But abroad you shall see
“that the Enemy may be overcome by his own
“strength, through the revolt of their oppressed
“Vassals, the discontents of their injured Con-
“federates, (who are continually panting after a
“forein hand that may help to break their ha-
“ted yoke.) Besides, we have to doe with an E-
“nemy whom security hath made weak, and
“the desires of Profit and Pleasure have drawn
“away from all defences: For their Towns and
“Cities

"Cities have not the fortifications of Art or
"Nature, neither compassed with Walls, nor
"built on Hills; but seated in pleasant fields
"and champion countries, hedged about with
"vineyards and retirements of Pleasure, which
"will rather invite then keep off an Enemy. So
"that your very sight will make them sensible
"of their weakness, and the fear of us will
"persuade their softened spirits to a subjection
"and compliance with us to the ruine of Car-
"thage, which shall feel the War to burn hot-
"ter here then that she hath kindled in Sicily,
"while every hand conspires to root up that proud
"City, that hath hitherto born up her Tyranny
"by an empty name of Greatness, and the cre-
"dulity of her abject Slaves, then by real Va-
"lour or solid Strength. Thus shall we gather
"up that force which we brought not with us.
"Besides, the suddenness of her Terrours and the
"bravery of our Courage will facilitate and as-
"certain our Victory, when she shall tremble at
"the invasion of that Enemy whom she despised
"and reputed her Slaves: and she will grow stu-
"pid, when the flames of her Villages, Castles
"and pertinacious Towns shall give them light
"to see, that Destruction hath as easie an access
"to them as they have made for it to others.
"This is the art not onely to pull down the Pu-
"nick greatness, but also to put an end to the
"miseries of Sicily, where the Enemy will no
"longer stay to overthrow her Liberty, but
"hasten

"hasten to prevent their own Slavery. And as
 "we cannot desire an easier War, so we cannot
 "hope for richer booties; for in the sacking of
 "Carthage we shall plunder all the wealth of
 "Africk, and recover all the spoils that they
 "have stoln from Sicily. Nor will our Glory
 "be lessthen our Profits, whenas all succeeding
 "Ages shall be taught by the present, that we
 "were the first that invented and bravely pra-
 "ctised the Heroick Art of transferring that
 "War to our Enemies doors, which we were not
 "able to endure at home; that chased our
 "Conquerours, and besieged our Besiegers: so
 "that we shall still live in their imitation. To
 "expedite this easie War, to gather these infi-
 "nite Treasures, and to raise up such a lasting
 "monument for our Fame, the Gods require no
 "more then bold hopes for our selves, and just
 "Piety towards them. For they have assured
 "me of Victory and Successe in the whole War,
 "not onely by auspicious signs in the Sacrifices,
 "but also in hearing my Prayers, and accep-
 "ting my Vows, which I made to Ceres and
 "Proserpina the Patronesses of our beloved
 "Island, that if they should safely conduct you
 "to the shores of Africk, I would burn all my
 "Ships as an offering to them. Therefore since
 "they have made so full a return to my Pray-
 "ers, and have so carefully preserved you in
 "the acquisition of Wealth and Glory, it is just
 "that I do not provoke their anger to blast this
 "enter-

"enterprize by a sacrilegious neglect of my Re-
"ligious Vows.

When he had said thus, one of his Servants puts into his hand a lighted Torch, and he commanded the like to be delivered to all his Captains: then invoking *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, he set fire to the *Pratorian* Ship, and all the Officers did the like to theirs; and when the flame had kindled upon the Ships, he orders the Trumpets to sound a charge, and the whole Army gave a shout, & every one praied for an happy return home. But this sudden joy was violent & short, too like the flame with which it began and waited. For the *Sicilians*, though at first they were bewitched with the speech, and cheated with the Arts of the Tyrant, who had called that Religion which was but his Necessity and Design, neither giving time to consult, nor expecting their consent; yet at last, when they turned their eyes from the perishing flames, and look'd upon the Sea, they began to measure in their thoughts the vast distance betwixt them and home; they compared the merciless waves with the dangers on the land, where so small a number were to be exposed to the fury of a mighty Commonwealth: the memory of the Battel of *Himera*, and the late terrours of the *Carthaginian* Fleet grew fresh, and appalled all those sanguine hopes their false Leader had suggested: and when they reflected again upon

upon the ashes of their burnt Ships, and saw all the means of a Return cut off, they cursed their cruel destinies, and their Joy (as it is usual with all sudden Passions) expired into Despair and Madness, and had any one dared to begin, they were all disposed to mutiny. *Agathocles* perceived the change, and feared the effects; and therefore to give vent to that dark and melancholy humour, which like a dismal cloud threatned a Tempest, he led them out to invade the *African* Empire, that it might spend all its fury upon the Enemy, and not be troublesome to their Commander. So designing the first attempt against *Megalopolis*, he leads them thither with a moderate march: nor too slow, lest he should confess a fear by delays; nor too hasty, both that he might give leave to Fame to render him stronger than he was, (For *distant terrours are alwaies believed greater than they are; and when the truth cannot be discovered, Fear doth conjecture many false dangers*) as also that he might permit his Soldiers to take a full prospect of the Country, which through their whole march appeared so delightful and rich, that it did rather refresh then weary their drooping spirits. For the whole Country abounded with Vineyards, Orchards of all kind of Fruits, Gardens and places of Pleasure. The Fields and manured grounds seemed to labour under the burden of the crop, the Pastures with variety of Cattel boasted

boasted the riches of the owners; every piece of ground was exactly watered with Rivers and Aqueducts, adorned with stately and magnificent houses, which bragged of as much Riches within as there was plenty without. This being the Country whither the wealthier *Carthaginians* made their diversions, when they were wearied with the tumult and business of the City. The happiness of the soil soon raised the hopes of the *Sicilians*, when they saw there were equal rewards for their labours, and large booties for their Victories. Then all began to praise and commend the prudence of *Agathocles*, and duty with the love of Obedience returned to every breast. *So unsteady are the motions of Vulgar souls, whose considerations being fastned to the present objects, vary according to their appearances.*

Agathocles makes use of this present temper, and therefore giveth a sudden storm to the City, which through long Peace had outlived the knowledge of an Enemy and all experience of War, and at this time thought of nothing less than an Invasion, and so was soon master'd by the desperate *Greeks*; to whom their Leader gave the plunder of the Town, that so he might raise their Courage, and feed their hopes by the booty. From thence he marches to a City called *White Tunis*, which was about two hundred and fifty miles from *Carthage*, and makes
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it fall under the same fate as the other did; they being also circumvented by the security of Peace, and mischiefs of War. The Army being now enriched by the spoils of these two Cities, would have them garrison'd as places to deposite their pillage. *Agathocles* (that knew how destructive this would be to his enterprize, and that the more hopes they had of a refuge, they would have the less courage to fight) tells them, "*that the booty which they had as yet got, was but poor and contemptible to those vast treasures one Victory over the Enemy would afford; and that until that were past no place could be secure, but afterwards every Village would be a safe depository to the conqueror.*" And urging this with such authority as his success had now heightened, he causes them to demolish those two Towns, and incamps in the field, lest the retirements of the City should soften them by Luxury before the encounter which he expected from the Enemy.

In the mean while the *Carthaginian Fleet*, that rode about the shore to wait the issue of the *Sicilians* landing, when they had seen them burn their Ships, did at first triumph, supposing that their fears had driven them to such desperate counsels: but when they saw them draw off from the shore, and march up into the neighbouring country, they then conjectured

red at their design, and judged that the flames of those ships would kindle a fire in their Commonwealth, and therefore wish'd they could have quench'd them with the *Sicilian* blood or their own tears. Thus expressing their fears and sorrows with great lamentations, and hanging the prowes of their Gallies with skins, (which was the ceremony of sadness when any great misfortune befell their City) they gathered up the brazen beaks of the burnt ships, and sent them with the Intelligence of what had happened to the Senate. But before this advice came, *Carthage* was alarmed by the affrighted Peasants and Fugitives of the sacked Towns, who fled thither for succour and shelter from the destructive *Greeks*; and, as it is usual, they had magnified every thing to the greatest terror. The whole City was amazed with this unexpected Invasion, and could not reconcile this sadder news with the Intelligence of their late Victory at *Himera*, but by supposing their condition worse, and that by the fortune of a second Battel they had lost all their forces both by Sea and Land. For otherwise they conceived *Agathocles* would never have dared to assail his Conquerors at their own gates; or could have been so rashly greedy, as for some hasty spoils of *Africa*, to have left *Syracuse* a prey to the besiegers; nor could he have passed the Sea, had his enemies Fleet been yet unattempted.

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These sad apprehensions filled all minds with horreur and confusion. The Senate with fear and hast was gathered into the *Piazza*, and the people with hideous clamours flocking about them, requiring them maturely to consult the safety of their Republick, which seemed now upon the Verge of Ruine. The excess of fear in every Order made them undervalue their own strength; and the greater diligence and the more arts every one used to conceal it, made them appear more evidently fearful. They discoursed how that they had no Army of Mercenaries ready to oppose the Enemy; their Nobles was sluggish, luxurious, and by a long Peace softned to effeminacy; their more hopeful Youth were either lost in the Shipwreck, or employed in the Island; the Populacy were wholly ignorant of arms, and now so terrified, that they would never dare to flesh themselves on an experienced Enemy, hardened with former perils, heightened with spoils, and, as they suspected, with a mighty Victory. Therefore in this doubtful state of affairs, some were of advice to send Commissioners to treat with *Agathocles* concerning Peace, and by that advantage to inform themselves fully of their Enemies strength: Others were of opinion that they should defer any such Treaty, till they were acquainted with the state of their own Army, and so to manage themselves accordingly. But while they were distracted

And with these different counsels, the messengers from the Admiral arrive at the Haven; who giving them a particular account of what had happened, and shewing them the beaks of their Enemies Ships, did allay their fears, but heightened their indignation against their Sea-Officers, that through baseness or folly had suffered a baffled Enemy to invade *Africk*; and venting their fury in a censure of them, with more calm spirits they fall to consult of fitting Remedies for the present Mischief.

The knowledge of their own and *Agathocles*'s condition made them despise their half-conquered Enemy; therefore scorning to treat with him of Peace, they resolved upon the finishing of the War. To this end, as more jealous of their Liberty then doubtful of Victory, (which is seldom obtained by divided Commands) they appoint two Generals, *Bomilear* and *Hanno*; Persons of different tempers and opposite Factions. The first cruel, faithless, ambitious and impatient of equality: the other more desirous of Glory then Power; of a civil Modesty, fierce against an Enemy, but tender of his own Citizens. *Bomilear* was chosen, because his Greatness made it dangerous to pass him by in so honourable an employment; but *Hanno*, to watch over the others actions, which not onely the love of his Country, but also an ancient feud betwixt their Families, did assure

sure them would be with the most exact circumspection. His Integrity they hoped would so temper his Passions, that he would not to his private Discords sacrifice the Publick Safety in the male-administration of his charge; and his hate of *Bomilcar* promised a sufficient ballance to his aspiring soul, who was suspected to affect the Tyranny, but as yet wanted an opportunity to satisfy his Ambition. Therefore they durst not trust him alone with such an extraordinary power, as they must expect onely from his Modesty when he would lay it down.

A Vertue sometimes waning in the *Carthaginian* Nobles, who often attempted upon the Liberty of their Commonwealth. Which some refer to the vicious constitution of their Government, that prefer'd such to the highest trust whose cense was largest, and so made Wealth, not Vertue, the mark for Honour. For they thought the greatness of their interest in their Country would oblige them to a greater industry for its preservation. This indeed is a remedy proper against a foreign yoke, but an incitement to domestick Tyranny. For such, as they will be watchful guardians to preserve their City from others, so will they often make attempts upon it themselves. And those that abound with Wealth, when they see Glory and Power are the attendants of it, grow insolent, and esteem the Supreme power but their due:
Equality

Equality of Honour being not competent with the inequality of Fortune. It was accounted the great preservative of the *Roman Liberty*, that Riches came into no consideration when they came to chuse the Commanders of their Forces, but they would fetch their Dictators from the plough, and nominate those for Consuls whose estates were so scanty, that the publick stock must defray the charges of their Funerals, and provide portions for their fatherless Daughters. These men after they satisfied the publick charge, and eminently served their Commonwealth, hasted home to look after their narrow fortunes and their few acres; when they had yoked the Enemy, returned to doe the like to their Oxen, and to finish the Tillage they had begun; and so became private persons, and were obedient to the ordinary Magistrates, contented with their turnips, and desiring no more of the spoil of the conquered than a wooden goblet to use in Sacrifices. So that they gave not the least jealousy of Tyranny to the people, who still making their choice by the Merit of the persons, had so many *Vir-
tues* among them, men glorious with several Victories, that they were a guard for the Publick against each other. Thus spoiling Riches of that glory which is given to it in a corrupt State, they preserved their own Liberty and the *Patrician Modesty*, till the love of Wealth entered; and then followed the desire of Empire.

Others referred this to the base Ingratitude of the People, which is the usual disease of all Democracies, who rewarded their victorious Commanders with seditious Accusations, and afterwards with the Cross, and often did too severely punish the mischances of the unprosperous. So that many that had the chief Command of their forces, have prevented their unjust sentences with a voluntary renunciation of life and employment; or to defend their Dignity, sought to extinguish those flames which would have consumed their private houses, with the ruine of the Publick, and pulling down the frame of Government. So that this Ingratitude and Severity did diminish the infamy, and somewhat necessitate such undertakings. But this infirmity never fell upon the *Roman* Commonwealth; for while it was not corrupted by too great an Empire, they were far from such unworthy Jealousies, rewarding the prosperous Valour of their Commanders with such glorious Triumphs as did both satiate their thirsts of honour, and not force them to seek the shadow of a name by being great Oppressors; and also raised the hopes and spirits of their other Citizens to the like achievements. Which did both increase their Strength and Empire, and also secure their Liberty by so many rivals of glory. If ever they punished the unsuccessful, it was with much humanity. Such as lost their Armies by
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any criminal failance, had the light corrections of a pecuniary mulct, and were not forced to wash away the ignominy of an Overthrow with their own blood. Such as through Misfortune, Inadvertency, or Ignorance brought wounds upon the Commonwealth, were rather caressed and cheered, then dealt severely with; and had sometimes their charges renewed, that they might redeem the Glory they had before lost. He that by a rash and indiscreet desire of Victory, had occasioned that terrible Overthrow at *Canna*, when he returned home, in stead of a triumph, had the Consuls and the whole Senate met him; who though they could not congratulate his Victory, did yet thank him for his valour, that he had not despaired of the Commonwealth. This proceeding of theirs towards their Generals was upon a good consideration: Because they judged it to be a matter of great importance, that such as were intrusted with affairs of so great moment as managing a Battel, should, when they were to make their resolutions, have their minds free, and without solicitude of their Cities censure of their actions: and therefore they would not increase their difficulties; supposing that none could be gallant under the load of so many doubts and fears. And as *Carthage* wanted this Wisdom of *Rome*, so did she the Glory and Power, and was afterwards forced to serve her rival of Empire.

The Generals being chosen, they conceived too great dangers in the least delay, and therefore made too much hast: for they tarried not to levy souldiers from the Confederate Cities, nor to take up such that were hardned with the country labours; but took those of their own City, whom the pleasures and abject arts of the City had made unfit for the toils of war; such also whom the fortune of their Commonwealth and the news of the late Victory in *Sicily* had raised to so high a confidence, that they conceived it rather a journey to fetch in Slaves, then an encounter to conquer an Enemy: therefore advising one another to give quarter to as many of the *Greeks* as were not obstinate to ruine, they carried along with them twenty thousand pair of fetters to bind their Captives. And they seemed to be careful of nothing more, then lest their delays would give opportunity to the Enemy to get away out of *Africk*, and so defeat their hopes of spoil. By this great confidence in themselves and contempt of the enemy, (*in whom nothing can be safely despised; for a neglectful contempt will alwaies make him stronger*) they were precipitated to an Overthrow. For they immediately drew out into the Field, being about forty thousand Foot, one thousand Horse, and two thousand Chariots; and pitching upon an Hill not far from the Enemy, they ranged all their Forces for a Battel. *Hann* commanded the
right

right Wing, and with him was the *Sacred Band of Carthaginians*, the Chariots and Horse being placed in the Front; and *Bomilcar* commanded the left.

Agathocles was glad the Enemy was so forward to engage, and that their Confidence made them neglect those safe counsels, of permitting his desperate Army to spend it self in its own fury, and waste by delays; therefore declines not the fight, but uses his greatest diligence in his preparations and orders of this Battel, upon which depended the fortune of *Syracuse* and all his hopes: knowing that *Fear and Confidence have their birth in the first events*; and that by the issue of this first encounter he should administer to Fame, to pre-occupate the minds of men in concluding the fortune of the whole War. He orders his Battel according to the manner of the Enemy. For having learned the temper of the two Generals, (a necessary part of the arts of a Leader, and of which *Annibal* afterwards made great use in his war in *Italy*, forming his designs according to the humour of him who commanded the Enemies battel) he commits the charge of his right wing to his son *Archagathus*, that was to engage against *Bomilcar*, where an insolent, treacherous Captain, and diffident Souldiers, promised the fewest dangers, and least opposition: and he himself

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commands

commands the left, to confront *Hanno*, where were all things that are to be expected in a good Leader and resolute Souldiers. And because many of his party wanted arms, he supplies them with this invention: he causes them to take the coverings of shields, and to distend them with sticks and rods, and to stuff them out in the form of a shield, and gave them to such as wanted, and were in the rear; not as fit for use, but to elude the Enemies sight, who at a distance could not judge them other then real shields. And lest his Souldiers should be discomfited by that terrible prospect of their enemies number and horse (*For the eyes most commonly are the first that are overcome in every battel*) he had another invention to secure their minds of Victory: for he caused many Owles, which he had provided for that purpose, to be let flie in several places of the Camp; which flying round about the Army, and alighting sometimes upon the helmets, sometimes upon the shields of the Souldiers, was taken for an auspicious augury, because this kind of bird was consecrated to *Minerva* a warlike Goddess. And withal he causes it, as an interpretation of the *Omen*, to be rumoured that she had assured him of an happy success.

These devices, though they seem trifles and empty projects, yet often prove great moments

to wonderful successes ; they raising in the spirits of an Army great Confidence, and by that Confidence they overcome. For a Confidence that is derived from the conceived care and promises of Heaven, and to which a Deity gives the first Original, is most active and vigorous ; because a Prediction doth not onely raise an infallible hope, and promise an assistance from Heaven, but also doth, by those hopes, tacitly admonish to brave resolutions. Therefore the *Romans*, who could boast of more Victories then any other Nation, used to raise a Confidence in their Forces by the waies of Religion : for they never would create their Consuls for their Expeditions, levy their Armies, begin their marches, or join in Battel, without their Auguries and Auspices. And without doing some such thing never did any of their wise and noble Captains attempt any great action ; conceiving it difficult to be successful in it, unless their Souldiers did first apprehend that the Gods were on their part. And herein doth this Confidence differ from that which ariseth in an Army from the consideration of their own strength, and contempt of the enemy : this commonly is pregnant with neglect of discipline, and too much security ; but the former never disarms it self either by negligence or rashness ; for the Commanders, who knew the uncertainty of human affairs, and how much vanity there was in such Augu-
ries,

ries, used them onely to heighten the rude multitude, and themselves in the mean while were careful of taking every advantage for Victory.

Agathocles (that had omitted no part of care; for his Army was ready and prepared either to fight or chase, not heavy with luggage, not greedy of spoil, intent upon the commands of their Leader, and observing his very nods, not anxious for safety, nor too presumptive of Victory) soon found the effects of his invention to have raised the confidence of his Soldiers. For upon the first charge they stoutly repulsed the *Punic* Chariots upon their own Foot, and bravely receiving their Horse forced them to flight: and when *Hanno* had brought up his Foot, doing all that the Love of his Country and Glory exacted from him (for he thought to have gotten the Victory by his alone Wing) with many wounds they slew him, being sooner forsaken by Fortune then Valour: and with him fell the courage of the whole party, which were put to flight; onely the *Sacred Band* did for a while stoutly endeavour to make good the retreat. In the other wing *Bomilcar* did but faintly assault the Enemy, and scarce stood upon his own defence, not seeking the Victory, but the Empire of *Carthage*, which he conceived their overthrow would facilitate, and their low condition impose on his shoulders; and then he doubted not with ease to send

send the *Syracusans* out of *Africk*. Therefore as soon as he heard of *Hanno's* death, he divulges it among his own party, and commands them to retreat to a neighbouring Hill: which being very disorderly performed, the *Sacred Band* being now no longer able to sustain the victorious *Greeks*, they were at last all totally routed, every one running the next way to *Carthage*, and casting away their arms which they had taken for their defence, as if they feared their own assistances.

The *Sicilians* pursued them not far, but greedily returned to the rifling of the Camp; where among the other spoils, they found the preparations not for War, but for Victory, those Fetters which had been provided for their Slavery. This increased the hatred of the Enemy, and heightened the joy of the Victory, by the prospect of the dangers they had escaped. For *although we rather wish an uninterrupted flourishing fortune; yet such doth not affect us with so high a sense of pleasure, as that which Providence raises us unto from the utmost dangers.* This likewise administered occasion of discouraging and wondering at the Justice of that overruling power of the World, that had thus shewed the vanity of humane power and counsels, and bound the proud *Carthaginians* in those fetters which they had provided for a despicable Enemy. As also *how quick the re-*

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turns of Prosperity may be after the most desperate misery. That there is no condition so low, but may have hopes, nor any so high that is without the reach of fears. The Tyrant while his forces were intire in Sicily, was overthrowa by the *Carthaginians*: yet with the remains of that Army he beats his Conquerours. Two emulous Cities, *Carthage* and *Syracuse*, both at one time Conquerours and conquered, streightned and besieged by their mutual forces. The loss of the *Carthaginians* in this Battel was very great, but uncertain: for some say it was but one thousand, others relate three, and others six thousand. *Agathocles* bought this great Victory with but little blood, for he lost at most but two hundred, and others say but two.

The *Carthaginians* amazed at this unexpected overthrow by so weak an Enemy, referred their misfortune to the anger of their neglected Gods. They conceived *Hercules* the Patron of their City to be offended with them, because they had long disused to send the Tenth of all their Revenues to that God at *Tyre*, from whence they were extracted, which they had most religiously observed at the first Plantation of their Colony. But when their State was increased by a continued Prosperity, and their Riches grown to a vast height, their Covetousness also enlarging with their Wealth, they envied their Gods

Gods so great a summe as their Tenths did then amount unto, and therefore sent little or nothing: either thinking their Gods would be pleased with the parsimony of their Idolaters, and not delighted in an un-employed Treasure; or else that by their present Felicity they were now able to stand by themselves without the care of their Gods. Such is the common weakness of humane minds, as to think the present fortune puts them out of a dependance on Heaven; and so great their Ingratitude, that proud with their happiness, they conceive themselves the authours of their own fortunes, and neglect the testimonies of acknowledging from whose bounty they derived their Blessings. And being thus insolent towards their Gods, they grow injurious to men, and so open all the Avenues to destruction. This *Salust* observes of his *Romans*, who in their first beginnings were Magnificent in their Devotions, Parsimonious in their Families, and Faithful to their Friends: but when their Greatness feared no rival, and their fortune had left no Enemy, first the love of Riches, then Ambition of Command taught them to neglect their Gods, and be perfidious to men, destroyed their Religion, corrupted their Converse, debauched their Discipline, and at last overthrew their Commonwealth. For *Religion being the Reverence of a Deity, which is supposed able to reward and punish according to the merits*

rites of the Worshippers, is productive of good Orders. These cement the minds of men, and lay the obligations of a solid faith, which fits them for great actions, by a mutual confidence, which seldom fails of good success. But where Religion is contemned, there the people are not far from ruine, or some heavy scourge; for that being the foundation of Society, when it is once shaken by contempt, the whole fabrick cannot be stable nor lasting.

But Religious rites that are worn out by Prosperity, when security makes men more desirous of pleasures than careful of Religion, are recovered by Adversity. And Fear, though it does not (as the Atheists say) make Gods, yet it revives their worship. For these Carthaginians awakened with the clamours of their Misfortunes, sent a great summe of money with other most precious offerings to *Hercules*, and Golden Shrines for all their other Gods at *Tyre*, thinking to buy off their fury, and corrupt their Justice. And neglecting no part of their barbarous Superstition, they endeavoured to reconcile their *Saturn* also, whom they conceived peevish likewise. For whereas of old they were used to sacrifice to him their most beautiful and hopeful Children, nobly or honestly born, they had of late put him off with common and supposititious births. Therefore by a cursed Superstition which extinguished humanity, (such is the fury of a devillish Worship that

that when it is most exact it increases their Crimes) they chose two hundred Children of their most eminent Nobles for a publick Sacrifice. Besides many others that lay under some misfortune, or were affraid of some great accusations, offered their blood for their Cities safety, which were no less then three hundred. All these were consumed in a Sacrifice. For being bound and laid upon the arms of their Idol, which was a great Image of brass with his hands stretch'd downwards to the earth, the unhappy wretches rowled off, and fell into a furnace of fire that was underneath. This cruel Superstition the *Carthaginians* had brought from *Tyre*, from whence the *Jews* also derived their worship of *Moloch*.

Though they were thus busie in their Religious, yet were they not negligent in their Secular provisions: for they sent to *Amilcar* in *Sicily*, that he should speedily send them what forces he could spare; and withal they sent to him by the same Messengers the brazen beaks of *Agathocles's* Ships, which their Admiral had brought to *Carthage*, with instructions how he should use them. *Amilcar* having received the news, commands the Messengers to suppress the misfortunes of their City, and to divulge in his own Army that *Agathocles* with his whole party were utterly lost. And some of the same men he sends into *Syracuse*
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to move them to a surrender of the Town, which could not now hope for any succours, for *Agathocles* was totally overthrown, and his Ships taken and burnt at *Carthage*; for an evidence of which they shewed the brazen beaks which had his mark upon them, and were generally known to be his. The people through the present miseries of the Siege were the more capable of any, though false, terrours; and such as desired a change of the State were most greedy after news. These thronging about the *Punic* Messengers and place of the Treaty, had got some inkling of the news: it was soon divulged; for in a publick expectation all were impatient of any great secret, and easily believed. And the Commanders in the Town labouring to suppress, did increase the fame of it: for all discourses being forbidden were the more multiplied; and those who, if it had been lawful, would have related no more then the truth, because it was not safe, did by their ill-suppressed fears and secret whisperings make more heavy things to be conjectured.

The Governours of the Garrison suspecting some Sedition and Mutinies might be formed by these sad tidings, as soon as ever they had dismissed (which was speedily) the *Carthaginian* Envoies, forced out of the Town all the unprofitable mouths, and all whom they suspected as friends or kindred of the *Banditi*, which
went

were about eight thousand. This filled the whole City with tears and confusion, and every house had something to bewail, either the supposed deaths of *Agathocles* and their friends that were with him, or else the misery of those that were now to be driven from their City and household-gods, and exposed to the cruelty of a besieging Enemy. These sad considerations forced many bitter execrations upon ambitious Tyrants and their hateful ministers. But *Amilcar*, that was a Generous Enemy, and had a greater sense of humanity than was in the breasts of *Agathocles's* agents, did safely permit those expelled wretches to remove from the walls of their unhappy City; but did more strictly besiege the Town. And supposing that the want of so many, whom they had turned out, had weakened them as to the defence of their works, and that the terrours of his Message had abated the obstinacy of the besieged, he sent in another summons, with a tender of good conditions to *Antander* and the Officers of the Garrison, if they would quickly surrender. *Antander*, that was a Coward, and had all his Brothers Vices, but none of his Courage, was for the delivery of the Town, and covered the baseness of his spirit with the honest name of Pity to the people. But *Eurymaon* an *Ætolian*, whom *Agathocles* had left in Commission with his Brother, was of a contrary judgement, and persuaded all the rest

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to hold out till they might have some better Intelligence of the state of the Tyrant. For it was a madness to form any counsels upon an information from an Enemy, who for their interest will suggest falsehoods for truth, or at least render things worse then in truth they are.

Amilcar understanding how his arts had miscarried, and that the besieged were still obstinate, prepares all things to storm the Town. But in the mean while there came into the Haven of *Syracuse* two Gallies which *Agathocles* had built after his Victory, and mann'd with the stoutest and most expert Sailors, under the command of *Nearchus*, one of his Confidants, to carry the news of his success to *Sicily*. These having a lucky sail, came the fifth day in the evening near to *Syracuse*; and at break of day the next morning, crowned with garlands, singing, and wanton with all expressions of joy, they made towards the City. The *Punic* Fleet which lay in the mouth of the Haven, upon the first discovery sent out some Vessels to take them; where the flight of the one and the pursuit of the other party made so rare and strong a contest, that it called both the besiegers and besieged to be spectators; each with prayers and wishes favouring his own party, and by a vicissitude of gestures expressing their hopes and fears, terrifying and incouraging,

raging, as they imagined cause. Each party did their utmost, and the Gallies were then touching the shore, when the *Carthaginians* had laid hold on them; and had then carried them away, had not the *Syracusans* that stood on the shore, with their darts, weapons and stones forced them back, and made them leave the jolly messengers to tell their lucky news. *Amilcar* supposing that season convenient for an assault, when the fight at Sea and great expectations had diverted their minds, and drew many of their souldiers off from their guard, did immediately clap his Ladders to the Walls, and had just then possessed them, when discovered by some of the Watch that were going about to settle the Guards, they were stoutly incountred, and the alarm being given to the whole City, the *Carthaginians* were beaten off, and those killed that had already gotten up. *Amilcar* vexed by this disappointment slackens the siege, and sent away five thousand of his Army to the defence of *Carthage*, and permits *Syracuse* for a time to please it self with the joyful news. Where all the discourse now was in extolling the wisdom of *Agathocles*; and what before seemed to be but capricious and effects of despair, were now by success so adorned, that they appeared the Counsels of the Gods, the onely safe resolves that could be made, and the Contriver was magnified to the Heavens, that he could doe more in an Over-

throw then the Enemy in a Victory. *Success is the only Optick by which the Vulgar survey and judge of Counsels.*

While these things were done in *Sicily*, and *Carthage* wearied her adverse Gods with inauspicious Sacrifices, *Agathocles* makes use of his Victory, which the *Punick* Pride and Perfidiousness rendred more advantageous. For that Commonwealth did use to treat their conquered neighbours as foreigners, and their less potent Confederates like Subjects and Vassals, Which was contrary to the *Roman* prudence, who the same day had many people both Enemies and Citizens, and made not wars nor sought conquests for Tyranny, but for their mutual strength and common safety, and being mingled together by the same customes and affinity, joined also their Interests with their Wealth, and were concerned in a common fate. Those Cities that observed not this method to Greatness, their Empires might be large, yet never strong nor lasting, and they perished at last by their own arts. For no possession is durable which the Sword onely gives: but Benefits have a perpetual obligation. So was it with *Carthage*, when the fame of their overthrow had filled *Africk* with wonder, how so great an Empire could receive so mortal and sudden a blow by a conquered Enemy; and not finding any more obvious solution, then that

that City's Name was greater then her Power, their admiration turned into a contempt of the conquered, and their former Injuries perswaded them to an obsequiousness to the fortune of the Conquerour. Therefore many Cities did readily confederate with him, and sent him supplies of Provision and Money for his Army. He also, to increase the terrour, and give new matter to Fame, marches within five miles of *Carthage*, and there pitching his Tents, wasted and destroyed by fire and sword all round about, that they might see the burning Villages from the walls of *Carthage*. Then resolving to take in all the Maritime Towns that yet were tenacious of their faith to *Carthage*, and would not comply with him; he fortifies his Camp about *Tunis*, and marches to *Neapolis*, which he takes by assault: but, contrary to his nature, he did temporize with his Fortune, and as the reason of War required did use them gently. *For the same of Clemency is profitable for those that design the erecting of a new Empire.*

His next attempt was to besiege *Adrymetum*: during which Siege he enters into Confederacy with *Elymas*, one of the *Libyan* Princes, that had forsook the Friendship of declining *Carthage*, and intended as little faith to his new Associate; who received him, though he knew he brought more name then assistance, being

of no assured trust. The *Carthaginians* when they thought the Tyrant so far engaged at *Adrymetum*, that he could not with honour leave that enterprize, hoped in the mean while to recover *Tunis*; and therefore sending out their Forces, they soon mastered his Camp, which was before the Town, and then applied themselves to take the Town it self. *Agathocles* hearing this, after his usual manner, being sudden in Counsels and happy in the Events, was resolved both to continue the siege at *Adrymetum* and to relieve *Tunis*. Therefore taking with him a small party, and leaving enough to make good the Siege, with great diligence and secrecy he possesses himself of an Hill which lay open to the prospect of the *Adrymetines*, and also to the besiegers of *Tunis*, and at night caused his Souldiers to make many and great fires. By this slight Stratageme, which was managed onely by the knowledge of the Country, (a necessary part of Military skill) he did deceive his Enemies at both places. For those that lay before *Tunis* thought he came with his whole Army to raise the Siege, and therefore they quitted it. And the *Adrymetines* imagined that they were more Forces gathered to strengthen the Siege, or force the Town, and upon that apprehension made an immediate surrender upon composition. After this he assaults *Thapsus*, and takes it by force; and by force, and credit of his former Victories, and his

his other arts, he got the power of no less then two hundred garrison'd places.

Having gathered the spoils of all that Country, he marches up into the Upper *Libya*, both to increase his plunder, and strengthen himself with new confederacies. Where when he had continued some daies, the *Carthaginians* incouraged by the coming of some of their forces from *Sicily*, renew their hopes and designs to besiege *Tunis*, having already recovered many of the neighbouring places that had been taken by the Enemy. But *Agathocles* having received Intelligence of it, hastes back, and when he was not far from the Enemy, incamps himself to refresh his wearied Souldiers awhile; but commanding them to make no fires, he marches away by night, and at break of day comes upon the *Africans* like a clap of thunder, while they were secure, disordred, and dispersed to forrage. This sudden appearance fill'd them with an immoderate fear, for they were fitter for a journey then a Battel; and while they hasted to take arms, their very hast increased their fears. In this confusion he kills two thousand of them, takes no small number, and so broke both the Siege and their spirits, who had before conceived too highly of their own strength by the access of their Veterane Souldiers from *Sicily*. Heightned with this Success he sets upon *Elymas* the *Libyan* King his Confederate,

federate, who had either broken his League with him, as was not improbable, the *Libyans* being so unconstant and barbarous that they did not understand Faith or Peace; or else the Tyrant feigned that he did so, that he might have a pretence for blood and spoil, which is as likely. But the ruine of that faithless King did not a little please the *Africans*, when they saw Perfidiousness went not unpunished.

But as one blow or favour of Fortune seldom comes without another of the same kind; so the *Sicilian* affairs followed the predominant fortune in *Africk*. For *Amilcar* impatient that *Syracuse* alone, which was the onely place there left to the Tyrant, should so long stop the course of his Victories, and hinder him from those Triumphs at home which he had deserved abroad, was too eager to snatch at that which in a short time must have fallen into his hands. For having a long while by the Fleet at Sea kept all provision from the Enemy, and by the Siege wasted all that the neighbouring Country could afford; he might well have expected a sudden surrender. But being inconsiderately desirous of Glory, and deceived by the hopes of a vain Augury, he hastned his own Ruine, and his Countie's Danger. For the *Augurs* having considered the entrails of one of the Sacrifices, tell him, "that to morrow
"night he should sup in *Syracuse*. His desires
made

made him willing to interpret it as his hopes would have it, & the great forces he commanded left no suspicion of an unhappy entrance. *In so much obscurity are things future hid from the eyes of man ; & it being impossible to decline the Destinies , makes the knowledge of the future altogether superfluous. That vain curiosity of seeking after it, is punish'd by being often made the instrument of delivering us over to what we fear, and would avoid.*

Amilcar therefore resolving to follow whether the Gods, as he imagined, did call, prepares all things for a storm ; and to increase the terror, designs it to be done in the Night. But in all humane actions *Danger* hath too near union with that which appears good and profitable, in which it seems almost impossible for a man to escape one if he intends the other : as it is in assaults by Night, which are no less dangerous for the invader than the invaded, when every little accident or false imagination may confound and disturb those that are led to the assault, and turn the ruine on themselves. And so it fared with *Amilcar*. For the Enemy having notice of his resolutions, sent out in the dark about three thousand Foot and four hundred Horse to lie in Ambush at a place near *Euryclius*, to disturb them in their enterprize, and appall them with those terrours which they intended to others. The *Carthaginians* that
thought

thought to surprize the Town, came on about midnight to the storm, led on by *Amilcar* himself with his life-guard ; and next to him followed *Dinocrates*, that was Lieutenant-General of the *African* Horse. The Army was divided into two bodies, one of *Africans*, the other of the confederate *Greeks* : after these followed a mixed multitude without any order or discipline, such as were intent upon the rifling of the Town, and could be of no advantage to the taking of it. These caused a great noise and bustle, which are often the forerunners of great Overthrows : and the way being also rugged and narrow, those that were to carry the luggage and the scaling-ladders began to disturb one another in the march, and to contend for the way ; so that forgetful of the Enemy, they went to fighting and knocking among themselves ; which making a great noise and confusion, gave those in the Amoult notice of their Enemies approach. Who prepared for this opportunity, and having the advantage of the upper ground, fiercely assaulted them, and did easily increase their disorders, cutting off the way to some, and forcing others to fling themselves down the precipices. Every place was filled with a confused and uncertain clamour, which together with the darkness of the night made them conceive the *Syracusan* Ambuscade to be far greater then it was. The *Carthaginians* thus
confoun-

confounded with their own disorders, the sudden impression of the Enemy, the ignorance and difficulties of their way, could not tell where to charge, nor whom to fight with, and in this amazement began to flie. Some of them that had not space to use their weapons, nor room to flie, were trodden under foot by their own Horse. Others fell foul upon their own party, the night not distinguishing betwixt Friend or Foe. Some were broken in pieces upon the rocks, and others were oppressed with the dying carcases of their Friends and their own luggage: so that there were various scenes of Death, and every species of Destruction was there acted. But *Amilcar*, that had a long time with those about him made a stout resistance, and in vain, among so great confusions, incited others to the like, was at last himself taken by the Enemy, and carried Prisoner into the Town, his whole Army being thus routed and beaten. And *Amilcar* had been happy howsoever, though in misery, if he had fallen under the same fortune with his Souldiers. But he outlived his Dignity, that with the greater Dishonour he might perish in *Syracuse*. So uncertain and fallacious are all humane designs, that when *Amilcar* thought he was invited by the Gods to compleat the conquest of *Sicily*, and consummate that Glory to which no *Carthaginian* had hitherto made so near an approach, he should at last
conclude

conclude his Life and Victories in Slavery, and die at the pleasure of his besieged Enemies.

The observing *Greeks* had all their wonder raised and excused in the consideration of this overthrow. For they could not sufficiently admire the strange uncertainties of humane Greatness, and sudden changes of conditions. Who may not fear or hope things different from the present, and contrary to what are expected, when *Agathocles*, who was a stout and subtle Commander, and had a very good Army at the Battel of *Himera*, was not onely defeated, but also lost the choicest of all his Forces; and now those that were besieged, a party of those very men that were then beaten, did not onely defeat the Army of the *Carthaginians* by an ordinary stratageme, and an advantage of ground, worsting an army of an hundred and twenty thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, but also took their General prisoner? This made them attest that observation, *That there are many Vanities in War; That the battel is not to the strong, nor doth Victory accompany the prudence of designs: when a weak accident, a contemptible circumstance, is able to ruine the best-formed projects, and overthrow the firmest resolutions; and that there was some such power, notwithstanding the impudent cavils and short discourses of Atheistical spirits, that may be justly termed the Lord of Hosts.*

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The *Syracusans* having gotten this Victory, more by the darkness of the night and advantage of the place than by their own Valour, used it as barbarously as became the slaves of an inhumane Tyrant; who besides the other Miseries that he brings upon his Vassals, doth also impress his Vices as brands of their Slavery upon their Souls; his power and their abject minds inclining them to the most abominable flattery of Imitation. For they most inhumanely abused their noble Prisoner: not considering the Dignity or Vertues of the Person, who through the whole War had done nothing unbecoming a Generous Enemy: they despised the majesty of his former Command and Success; forgot humane frailty, how soon it falls from the greatest honours to the lowest miseries; and, which challenges more pity in humane breasts, that what by many labours & tedious vertues hath been attained, may be lost and perish in one moment. *Paulus Aemilius*, when he had overthrown and taken *Perseus* the great King of *Macedonia*, wept over his Prisoner, and gave reverence even to the captived Majesty, and brought his Children to behold the spectacle of humane frailty, not to triumph in it, with this command, that "*They should learn from thence what Reverence was due to the Ruling Power of the World, that was able to doe such great things.*" But the souls of so base a Rabble as were the Tyrant's

Tyrant's Officers were not capable of so virtuous considerations, therefore they exposed *Amilcar* to all the indignities and injuries that an half-starved multitude would inflict, or the grief for their slain Friends could invent, upbraiding him with his false hopes in the Augury, and objecting "*that the Gods were faithful to his ruine, that had brought him to sup that night in Syracuse*." They led him bound through the whole City as the mockery of Fortune, and vexing him with horrid torments, they at last killed him; and cutting off his head, sent it with the news to *Agathocles* into *Africk*. Thus fell *Amilcar*, who was before the Terror of *Sicily*, but now the scorn of *Syracuse*; more miserable by the hands he fell into, then by the cause and manner.

This rout had so broken and scattered the *Carthaginian* Army, that they could scarce meet the next day; and when they did, were as far from Union. Their Overthrow had made them factious, and (as it is the fashion of the Vulgar) each one was ready to charge another with the common Misery, and object their own Crimes to anothers Malice. This was increased by the loss of their General, and they could not agree of a Successor to him. The *Africans* would have the chief command given to one of their own City, that was next in dignity to their late Commander: but the
confe-

confederate *Greeks* with the Exiles contended for *Dinocrates* to be supreme. And when neither party would recede from their designed choice, they followed their several Leaders, and so divided.

The *Agrigentines* considering this state of affairs in *Sicily*, were persuaded that Fortune presented them with a fit opportunity of obtaining the Empire of that Island. The *Carthaginians* they conceived were so broken, that all they could doe, was to defend their own City from *Agathocles's* invasion: *Dinocrates* with his Exiles would be contemptible to that power which they should raise: The *Syracusans* being half-famish'd, would bend all their cares rather for food than dominion; or if they should be yet ambitious to retain their Grandeur, yet their preparations for it would be so slow, that they could make no considerable attempt before they had rooted their power, and settled their dominion. The speedy growth of which their own arts promised, and the pretext which they would use for their design, which was, *to set all the Cities in Sicily at Liberty*: for the hate of Foreign yoke, the Tyranny of *Agathocles*, the innate thirst of Freedom which was in the *Greekish* blood, would easily make their pretext be credited and complied with.

Swoln

Sworn with these hopes the *Agrigentines* make one of their own Citizens, *Xenodiceus*, General, and furnishing him with a sufficient Army send him forth to execute their counsels. He first marches to *Gela*, where being received by some whom he had before practised with, he enters the Town by night, and becoming master of it, he there gathers up a large summe of Mony, increases his Forces, and partly by force, partly by perswasions, draws the *Geloans* into a Confederacy with the *Agrigentines*. The fame of this plausible design being bruited abroad, all the Cities that were not suppressed by a greater force then their own, greedily embraced this Overture of Liberty, and joined with the Undertakers. The *Enna* and the *Erbesfites* being assisted by *Xenodiceus* drove out the *African* Garrisons. Then he hastens to deliver the *Camarines* and *Leontini* from the incursions of the *Syracusans*, who, like thieves broke out of prison, being delivered from the Siege, were more fierce and bloody, wasting and pillaging all their Neighbours, and had taken *Exetla*. Thither the *Agrigentines* speeds, drives the *Syracusans* within their own walls, besieges and takes *Exetla*, and restores it to its own Democratical Government. The *Syracusans* being thus hindered from foraging by land, took advantage of the *Punick* negligence, whose Fleet seemed to be stupified with the reiterated losses of their Commonwealth,

monwealth, and so were more negligent in their guards : So that the enemy got in by Sea some Vessels laden with Corn that did for a time supply their great wants. In the mean while the Army of the League, to keep up their growing fame, marches up and down, and delivers several Towns both from the *Syracusan* and *Carthaginian* yoke. Thus while *Carthage* and the Tyrant contended for the Empire of *Sicily*, and wasted each other with repeated fights, there arises a third party to take the spoils of both. But the miseries of the Island were still increased by the pretenders to her Preservation, and could not fear or suffer much more troubles in Slavery, then what now she must endure for the vain hopes of that Liberty which the next strong Pretender would ravish from her,

While these impetuous designs for Empire and Liberty wasted and almost drowned *Sicily* in blood and tears, the Tyrant's success in *Africa* made him gay and jolly : and when he had received the head of *Amilcar*, (who living was his greatest terror) he made use of it to terrify his own Citizens ; for riding so near their Camp as that he might be heard and seen, he shews them the remains of their slain General, and makes up the story of his death with all the dreadful passages that might augment their fears. The *Africans* with tears paid
M their

their respects to his unfortunate faith and valour, and bowed down to worship that head which was their Enemies scorn; bewailing in the loss of him the unhappiness of *Carthage*. But the other mischiefs of War which followed did dry up the tears too soon for this their Noble Captain.

This strange success both in *Sicily* and *Africk* made the *Syracusan* Potter more proud, so as to persuade himself that he stood above the reach of Danger. But the great Ruler of humane affairs deals sometimes with Tyrants as he hath done with the Lions of *Mesopotamia*, whose Fierceness would make that Country desolate and the waies unpassable, had not Nature provided a little sort of Flies, that about the heat of day flying into the eyes of those beasts, either force them into Marishes and Fenny places there to preserve their sight from those enemies, whom smallness makes invincible; or else exasperating their revenge to kill them, while they are wounding, make them tear out their own eyes with their claws, and so starve for want of sight and food. So Providence restrains the fury, and curbs the Pride of such Monsters as Tyrants are, by some abject means and inconsiderable circumstances, forming their Ruine from unsuspected beginnings. Drunkenness and Feasts sometimes revenge the oppressed world, & overthrow that

that power which is unresistible by Arms. Thus *Agathocles* was almost ruined, when his Enemies were most weak, by an unexpected Mutiny of his own Army, occasioned by a slight accident which gave beginning to it. And many times small beginnings have great effects, men being more willing to follow a motion than to lead it. The Tyrant jolly in his Success and the obsequiousness of Fortune, invites all his Officers to a Supper; where one of them, named *Lyciscus*, being drunk, began to rail at him, and upbraided him with his notorious Crimes, uttering such speeches that were not safe in a Tyrant's ears. *Wise Maxims are to hate even the liberty of speech, and to suspect those who speak either boldly or gravely, for underminers of Tyranny.* *Agathocles* suppressed his Anger, reserving it to grow more heavy in a fit season of Revenge; at the present he seemed to reverence the man whom he had often proved very valiant, and therefore inspiring his Passion to his distemper, replies only by jeasts and contempt, the sittest way to blot out reproaches. But his Son *Archagathus* (who thought his Father's fortune needed no Patience, and because the drunken speeches had so much of truth that they left too sharp a remembrance) with much fury returns the like language mixed with Threatnings. This heat outlasted the Feast, and every one departs towards his Tent. But *Archagathus* following

and pressing upon *Lyciscus*, he did at last upbraid him also of Incest with his Fathers Wife *Alcia*. Upon which *Archagathus*'s blood boiling as high in choler to have his Crimes divulged, as it did before in Lust, and as he was prompt to doe any baseness, so he was equally insolent, and unwilling to hear of it, he snatches a javelin from one of the Guard, and runs *Lyciscus* quite through the body; who falling down dead was by his Friends conveyed to his Tent. Whither as soon as it was morning were gathered all his acquaintance, and many of the Officers of the Army; who had a respect for him, not onely for his Valour, but also for the bluntness of his discourse, which did seem to have in it a shew of a free Soul. These resenting the injury done to their Friend, and measuring their own danger by what he had suffered, fill the whole Camp with Sedition; which was more inflamed by all the great Officers, who feared the Tyrants wrath for some slight offences. So that at last every one armed themselves to punish the incestuous Murderer, and to appease the angry ghost of their Friend with his enemy's blood; threatening that if *Agathocles* would not deliver him up to Justice, they would satisfie their fury with his head. Then did their anger invent new causes of quarrel, and clamoured out for their arrears; and to shew their intentions for a real satisfaction, they chose them new Leaders,

Leaders, seized upon all the Forts and Gates of *Tunis*, and set a guard upon the Tyrant and his Son. Thus, as it is the nature of the Multitude either basely to serve, or proudly to domineer, they had in a moment cast off all that fear and reverence of the Tyrant, which so many terrours and so long a Conduct had habituated them unto.

Agathocles all this while, in the conscience of many Wickednesses which every mouth now spoke of, did not dare to appear, to restrain those that were most fierce, or reconcile the doubtful, or animate any of his Confidants; but fearful and sluggish, watched when this humour would spend it self. But the *Carthaginians*, that had intelligence of the Mutiny, laboured to advantage themselves by it, before the love of Obedience or the knowledge of the necessity thereof should return: and therefore sent some secret instruments to practice them to a Revolt, promising to pay all their arrears, and ample rewards to the Agitators in it, so that many of the Officers undertook the employment. *Agathocles* startled at these practices, thought his life and fortunes were now at the utmost verge, and fearing if he were delivered up to his Enemies, he must with ignominy and torture end his daies, he conceived it better to commit himself to the fury of his own Army; and since his Life was gone, he

would onely provide for the decency of his Death, and wthal try whether his old arts of dissembling would still prove lucky. Onely the doubt was how he should proceed: whether he should go and oppose to their Fury the Majesty of a Commander, which might force a reverence, when they saw a Person of so great experience, and that had for a long time been the chief fountain of severity and reward; or whether he should go by such a way of fear and trembling as would conceal all his arts of dissembling and speaking, and so be more powerful to mitigate the incensed Rabble. For it is the custom of the Vulgar to be changed by sudden and unusual appearances, and be as prone to pity as they were immoderate in anger. This last way was thought most expedient; and therefore laying aside all his Robes and ensigns of Power, squallid and deformed with fear, with a countenance composed to tears, yet full of Pride and Anger, he comes into the midst of the Souldiers, who were presently moved with the miserable habit of him whom before they envied. He speaks to this purpose.

"Had the Gods exacted my life as a Sacrifice for my Armies safety, or destin'd me to fall in executing revenge on the Enemies of Syracuse, their Decrees had been but the answer of my Prayers, who have already devoted my life to yours and my Country's service.
"But

"But to be sold by those whom I have preserv-
 "ed in Liberty and made Lords of Africk,
 "that my death should be their ignominy whom
 "I have led and taught the waies of glory,
 "gives me just cause to complain of their seve-
 "rity. It is not that I fear death, for I need
 "no other witnesses then your selves how often
 "I have provoked it for your emolument. Nor
 "am I frighted to become the mockery of that
 "Enemy on whose Ruines I have already raised
 "such pillars of Glory as cannot be wasted by
 "the malignity of Time, or undermined by the
 "dishonour of my Grave. But your eternal
 "infamy that have sold your Captain, and the
 "Slavery of our Commonwealth, which will
 "lose a most industrious and faithful instru-
 "ment of her preservation, are the greatest
 "terrors my destruction brings. Besides the
 "dismal effects that it will have even upon Ver-
 "tue it self, and be destructive to the society
 "of following generations: for my blood spilt
 "in this mutiny will confirm the licentious in-
 "solence against Magistracy, and discourage
 "the pious zeal of Children for their Fathers
 "honour. It is true indeed, the too much Pie-
 "ty of my Son hath raised this Tumult by more
 "duty then consideration. For dangerous e-
 "vents do follow even honest actions, if Pru-
 "dence do not moderate the course of Justice.
 "But his greatest crime was, that he anticipa-
 "ted your fury, and prevented your revenge

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"of

“ of your own injuries. For though the Maje-
“ sty of a Prince and the honour of a Magi-
“ strate were but empty names and vain shadows,
“ yet it is your concernment that He which is
“ your Commander should not be esteemed the
“ worst of men, as that drunken Railer would
“ have rendred me ; because that Society is
“ near a dismal dissolution, whose Chief or
“ Prince may be safely defamed. But it is in
“ vain to complain, since the Gods have decreed
“ the end of this glorious Enterprize by my
“ death. For who will dare to lead you to fire
“ the Gates of Carthage, and to find your ar-
“ rears in ransacking her Riches, when you
“ have applauded the dishonour, and conspired
“ the betraying of your most faithful Servant ?
“ Or what need the Carthaginians fear your
“ arms, when by these base arts (for by better
“ they cannot) they can ruine your best Officers,
“ and make you bind their yokes upon your
“ own necks ? I desire to live no longer to see
“ your Infamy, nor will I experience the Cru-
“ elty or Clemency of any other, but free and
“ satisfied with my own integrity and glory will
“ anticipate all danger. Onely I desire you,
“ that the short time your cruel and faithless
“ Enemy will suffer you to survive me,
“ you will remember Me among the brave Ex-
“ amples, and put me in the number of those
“ that by an honourable end have escaped the
“ publick Miseries.

Having

Having ended his Speech, he drew out his Sword, and put it to his breast, as if he had intended to have killed himself: which was acted with so much life, (for he was an excellent Mimick) that the rude Multitude, unacquainted with the arts of Tyrants, and their too much fear of death, thought it was real. Therefore with loud acclamations, and striking their spears upon their shields, which was the way whereby the *Greek* Souldiers did use to express their desires, they cried out "*that he should forbear the ruine of himself and them,*" "*that they did acquit him of all accusations;*" and with a shout begged and gave pardon at once, desiring him to re-assume his Royal habiliments: which while he puts on he weeps, and thanks the changeable Multitude, that is soon was differing from it self, and that before being nothing but Fury, did now become all Patience. For every Multitude is moveable, especially that of Souldiers; so that the remedies of Sedition are as easie as the beginnings of it. The Tyrants Speech having recovered so much pity as served him for Authority, and seeing the return of Obedience, and that the Souldiers were now fit to receive commands, he presently turns the remainder of their fury upon the Enemy, who were expecting the issue of their practices, and the Revolt of the whole Army, of which they had received some already. Whom when they saw marching out, they conceived

conceived to be such as had forsaken the Tyrant, and were coming over to them ; for the speed of *Agathocles* had prevented any news of the change in the City : and when he was come near them, he tells his Souldiers, "*that now they should expiate their seditious fury, and blot out their treason with the blood of the authours, and turn their crime to their honour.*" Then sounding a charge, he chases the *Africans* to their own tents ; who being deceived with this surprize, made no resistance, but left many of their fellows dead upon the place, as testimonies of the *Sicilians* Repentance.

Though *Agathocles* had thus dexterously escaped this great danger, and revenged himself on the *Africans*, without any other loss than of two hundred Authours of the Sedition, that had revolted to the Enemy ; yet was his hatred still alive of the whole Army, that had put him to such affrightments : and could he have been safe, he would have contrived their universal ruine. So implacable are the Spirits of Tyrants. Yet notwithstanding he intends to divide them, whom the contemplation of their number often incites to Sedition, and makes them scorn to ask that pay which they see they can force. Therefore leaving the rest of the Army with his Son, to secure *Tunis* and the acquisitions thereabout ; he takes with him eight thousand

thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, and follows the *Carthaginian* Forces, who were gone into *Numidia* to suppress some Insurrections among their revolting Subjects. Where though by their speed they had reduced many to Obedience, and by moderating their commands recovered the Affections of others; yet did they not dare to give battel to the *Greeks*, but incamped themselves on an Hill defensible by nature, and incompassed about with Rivers of a difficult passage. Then they commanded their *Numidians* that were in arms for them, after their manner of fighting, still to follow the *Sicilians*, and by many sudden assaults to retard their march. But *Agathocles* sending out his Slingers and Archers to encounter with them, leads his other Forces forward to find the Enemy; who being certified of his approach, sent out a party to hinder his passage at the River, where they slew many of his men. But the *Sicilians*, though less in number, yet greater in resolution, and heightened with many Victories, forced their passage, and stoutly maintained the fight with the *Carthaginians*.

In the mean time those *Numidians* that were on either side, forbore the fight, being of an unsteady Faith, like their sandy soil, neither united among themselves, nor constant adherers unto others; and standing like Spectators
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of the Combate, and as so many Vultures watching to prey upon the falling Carcasses, they determined to rife the Camp and luggage of which party soever was worsted. At last the day inclining to *Agathocles*, he pursued the *Africans* to their Camp, which being well fortified, they bravely defended, and returned more wounds then they did receive: yet was the Tyrant obstinate to force them within their defences, hoping to compleat the Victory so happily begun. The *Numidians* seeing the *Carthaginians* so well preserving their Camp, though they lost the field, immediately turn their hopes upon *Agathocles's* Tents; where killing those few that were left for the guard of them, they took all the Prisoners and spoil, and, like birds of prey, when they had got the spoil, made no delay, but hasted away. The Tyrant hearing of this, drew off from the *Carthaginians* to succour his own Camp; but their haste and the approaching Night delivered them from his revenge, and they escaped with the greatest part of the spoil. *Agathocles* therefore to supply the loss his Army had sustained by the *Numidians*, did equally divide among the Souldiers his own booties, lest they should mutiny. In this Battel were taken a thousand *Greeks*, whereof five hundred were *Syracusans*, who in hatred of the Tyrant had served the *Carthaginians*. These being all imprisoned in a Garrison, fearing the Cruelty of the

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the Tyrant, by night set upon the guards; but being worsted, retired into a strong place, which they intended to defend till they might have good Articles. *Agathocles* hearing of it, draws up his whole Army against them, whom the fear of present death made forgetful of the Perfidiousness of the Tyrant, and so they yielded up themselves upon his Oath that he would spare their Lives: which they had no sooner done, but he kills them every man.

Notwithstanding all these Overthrows, the *Carthaginians* were not broken in their Courage and Resolution for Empire; (which is alwaies the guise of great spirits, not to vary with their fortunes) and therefore did so little repent of their unhappily-defended Liberty, that they chose rather to be overcome than not to attempt at Victory. A temper they retained as long as they had a City. For in their last War with the *Romans*, before ever they would yield to quit their City, they pulled down their Houses for timber to build a Navy; and when they wanted Iron and Brass, they melted their Gold and Silver for the same uses; and their Matrons cut off their Hair, to make cordage for their Engines. This undaunted resolution, their sending forth fresh Armies, their wariness of engaging, the hardiness and experience which by their continual Conflicts they had acquired, the difficulties of this last Skirmish,

Skirmish, and the much blood the Victory cost him, made the Tyrant see how unequal such a petit Prince as he, and a single City that was blocked up, and could afford him no support for so vast designs, were to so mighty a Commonwealth, that seemed inexhaustible in her Treasures, and store of men, and that at this rate they could longer hold out with their Overthrows, then he with his Victories: for his Forces were worn out with the Successes, and there could be little trust in the Souldiers he gathered from the conquered people. He therefore casts about to get those succours somewhere else that he could not expect from home, Among those whom he thought on, none appeared so fit for his design as *Ophellus*, who having been one of the Commanders of *Alexander*, in the partage of that Empire had seized upon *Cyrene* in *Libya*, and had made himself Prince thereof; with which it was known that he was not contented, and therefore had many projects to enlarge his Dominion, and make himself eminent.

This man *Agathocles* judged fittest for his purpose, and easiest to be imposed upon. For *Ambition* insatiable, and while it presents the lustre of Greatness, dandles the Reason, that it cannot see the dangers and difficulties in the acquisition; nor look into the practices of those that tempt them. To him therefore the Tyrant
sent

sent *Orto* a *Syracusan* as Ambassadour, to cajole him into this war, and as a reward of his dangers makes profer of all the acquisitions he had already made, or should hereafter make by their joint Forces in *Africk*. For he conceived *Sicily* an Empire large enough for his ambition, who modestly thought too great a Command was dangerous, and in great possessions men made themselves too obnoxious to the strokes of Fortune. He had made this war upon the Continent onely to divert the *Africans* from the Island, and to blot out the ignominy of his overthrow at *Himera*, not to settle a Kingdome there, which was divided by so vast a Sea from his principality of *Syracuse*. If hereafter his desires should be enlarged with his Fortunes, he had *Italy* nearer him, a place fitter for his designs, and where he had better pretensions, and there he should exercise his valour, and enlarge his Empire; but all *Africk* he would leave to *Ophellus*, as fittest for the King of *Cyrene*.

This wrought the desired effect on *Ophellus*, who having been long waiting for such an opportunity, greedily swallowed the bait. For men are more desirous of acquiring that which is another's, then careful to preserve their own. This made him not reflect upon the party with whom he had to doe: but as one of the lesser birds of prey, who are eager to seize on that which

which their nature incites them to, but do not look unto a greater fowl which is above them, and seeks to swallow them with their spoil; so he onely considering the Empire of *Carthage*, did not mind the infamous Perfidy of *Agathocles*, but hastily concludes a League with him, and provides for the Expedition. To this end he sends Money and Officers to *Arkens*, from whence he had married a Wife of the stock of the famous *Miltiades*, that by the favour of her Friends they might levy Souldiers there, and gather up some other un-employed *Grecians*; who were easily perswaded to this enterprize, for they found *Greece* a most troublesome place, wasted and harrassed by the several pretensions and wars of *Alexander's* Commanders, and therefore hoped for a more safe and easie Warfare with richer spoils in *Africk*, and promised to themselves the pillage of *Carthage*. With an Army made up of such *Ophellus* marches from *Cyrene* with above ten thousand foot, six hundred horse, and a hundred chariots that were furnished with three hundred men; and besides those that were listed there followed above ten thousand with their Wives and Children in hope of booty and spoil, as if they went to plant Colonies, not fight Battels, in *Africk*. These travelling through the dry and sandy Desarts of *Libya*, where they were often in great distress both of water and victuals, and often hurt by those Serpents which are natural

tural to that soil, at the end of two months came to the Camp of *Agathocles*, tired and half famished.

The Tyrant went out to meet *Ophellus*; whom he entertains at first with prodigal caresses, sends him convenient and seasonable Presents, often entertains him at Feasts, in tenderness persuades him to rest and refresh his Army before he brought them to action, and agrees with him in all the Counsels concerning the management of their Enterprize. One through Fraud, the other through Facility, mutually grant and receive every thing. *Ophellus* adopts *Archagathus* for his heir to his hoped Kingdom; and *Agathocles* suppresses for a while his bloody and greedy disposition; which was impatient in society of Command. Yet all the while he had an eye upon his new Guest; and having intelligence about him, when he understood that *Ophellus* was most secure, and that the greatest part of his Forces were gone forth to forage, he suddenly calls together his own Souldiers, and to them declares, that
"he had found by experience, how impossible it
"was that there should be Faith and Concord
"betwixt two Commanders in chief: for O-
"phellus, whom he had called to their assis-
"tance, and invited to a Confederacy in that
"rich War, had notwithstanding ungrateful
"practices to cut them and him off; and of
 N *"this*

"this he was assured by the Intelligence he kept
"about him: that therefore they should advise
"what course was fittest for their safety. They
were soon exasperated by this false accusation,
and desired him to lead them out to revenge:
Which he presently did, and found *Ophellus*,
suspecting no such usage, without any strength
about him, and therefore easily mastered,
though he made a stout resistance, till he was
killed. When he was dispatched, *Agathocles*
forced and perswaded the rest to lay down their
arms, and surrender themselves to his conduct,
promising them that they should find better
hopes under his Command than was to be
conceived from *Ophellus*: and so wrought over
his whole Army. Of which such as were un-
fit for Service (together with the Spoils of *O-*
phellus) he ships for *Syracuse*: but they were
all lost by Shipwreck; so that the Tyrant en-
joyed not any benefit of his Perfidiousness, ei-
ther of what he had sent away or what he kept;
for it was not long after that those men whom
he had deprived of a Captain, did revenge
the injury in the blood of his Son.

At the very time that *Agathocles* was un-
faithful to *Ophellus*, as if some perfidious in-
fluence did then work upon all corrupted
minds, did *Bomilear* attempt the like upon his
own Citizens. Who though he was suspected
to have a long time intended the Tyranny, yet

was still suffered to continue in the City ; either a more powerful Enemy and greater Fears employing all their thoughts, and so caused a neglect of his practices : or else *Carthage*, as all Commonwealths, was too slow in their determinations, less wary in their proceedings, and much respectful of their greatest Citizens ; which make Conspiracies against them more secure in the management, then such as are formed against Princes. He had often sought an opportunity to satisfy his Ambition. But *great Crimes are full of Fears, Delays, and frequent change of Counsels ; and that which in the projection seems full of its reward, when it comes to be acted looks big with danger.* Therefore he had long deferred his Enterprize. But now, when the City was dejected by the increase of their Enemies in the coming of *Ophellus*, and the most eminent of the Nobles were employed in *Numidia* to keep their subjects quiet, he thought the affrighted Multitude would tamely submit to him, and that now there was no reason to delay those counsels, which are never praised till they be acted.

Therefore when *Agathocles* was busied in the murder of *Ophellus*, he began his enterprize. And it was for the happiness of either State that these Crimes were acted in the same juncture of time, and that each were ignorant of the others attempts and troubles. For had

Agathocles known the practices of *Bomilcar*, he might have easily wrought him, upon the failure of his attempts, rather to have given up the City into his hands, then trusted himself to the mercy of his incensed Citizens. And had the *Carthaginians* been acquainted with the *Syracusan's* perfidious dealing with *Opbellus*, it had been more possible for them to have drawn that injured Army to their side, then for *Agathocles*, that had provoked them with an unparallel'd Baseness. But the Wickedness and danger of either Act hated the light, required secrecy, and fastned the attentions of the Actors from considering what was done by others.

Bomilcar therefore not seeking for aid abroad, nor mingling Counsels with *Agathocles*, who he might suspect would be as faithless as himself, but relying on his own strength, which was five hundred of the baser Citizens, that were easily allured with the hopes of Spoil, and a thousand Mercenaries that he had gotten, proclaims himself *King*. Then marching from the place where they at first rendezvous'd, which was in that part of *Carthage* which was called the *New City*, he divided his party into five bodies, and sent them by several avenues into the *Piazza*, commanding them to kill all they found in the streets, that so he might affright the people, and make his design easier.

easier. For if the Multitude be not affrighted, they become terrible; but when they begin to fear, they grow weak to contempt. And accordingly the Citizens were at first affrighted, supposing this Tumult was caused by the Enemy, to whom the City had been betrayed; and fled, and hid themselves. But being at last acquainted with the truth, Hatred and Anger (the two strongest and most sudden Passions) that one of their own City should increase their Misery, and attempt their Bondage, while they were resisting a foreign Tyrant, expelled their fears, and armed all the Youth to revenge. Who gathering together in several bodies, led by the wisest Citizens, who would not suffer the consent and first indignation of so great a multitude to languish, set upon the Tyrant in the Piazza, whither he was then arrived. He being bravely assaulted by these, and there being also from the Houses round about the Market-place poured all the instruments of death and anger that Women and Children could manage, upon his party; so many of them were killed or wounded, that he was forced to quit his ground, and draw off to the place from whence he at first set forth. But his flight emboldened and increased his Enemies, and in his retreat through the narrow Lanes many more of his men were much wounded from the Houses; and when he came to the place he intended, they closely besieged

him. *Bomilcar* seeing his design broke, parlies with his besiegers, and with as much Baseness as he had begun with Villany, he puts an end to his ambitious hopes, yielding himself up upon Articles of Impunity.

All the rest that had been his Instruments were pardoned, their Ministry to his Wickedness being imputed to their Weakness: and it was not safe now to draw much blood within their walls, when such rivers were spilt without. Only the Tyrant himself must by his death seal the security of the Commonwealth, and satisfy the publick hatred. For *hatred that is raised by danger out-lasts the fear; nor doth the conquered cease to be hated till he cease to be.* Therefore notwithstanding the Publick faith for his impunity, he was most cruelly tortured, and afterwards crucified. He shewed himself consentaneous in life and death; for from the Cross, as from a Throne, his Imperious and Proud spirit declaimed against the Ingratitude and Cruelty of the *Carthaginians*: Objecting to them how they murdered *Hanno*, whom they had falsely accused with the affectation of Tyranny; banished *Gisgo*, whose Innocency their Wickedness could not endure; basely passed private sentences of death against his Uncle *Amilcar*, who wisely endeavoured to make *Agathocles* rather their Friend than their Enemy: and in this fury, because he could not re-
venge

venge the Crimes he objected, he breathed out his restless soul. Thus *Conspiracies*, if they do not ruine, yet defame the Magistrate; and when they thrive not against them, are supposed to come from them as inventions to cover their Avarice in seizing upon the Estates of others, or to hide their inhumane thirst of blood. This was the end of *Bomilcar*, who following the same designs with *Agathocles*, had yet a different issue; for the Cross rewarded his Wickedness, when Power and Greatness was the price of the others. Not to refer this difference either to the Justice of Heaven, by conceiving one to be more wicked then the other, and that he which thrived was less impious then he that perished in the undertakings, for this would injure that immaculate Justice and Purity of Heaven: nor to ascribe it to the pity of Providence, who would not afflict the miserable *Carthaginians*, that laboured under the fury of a most bloody forein Enemy, with those greater mischiefs that follow a change of Government, and of necessity flow from a Domestick Tyranny. But we may in reason assign this cause, that the different events did arise from those divers Occasions which either took for his Enterprize. The *Syracusan* found a corrupted State to work upon, (for in none but such do Tyrants arise;) but the *African* did not: For whereas a State is corrupted either through a long Prosperity, or variety of

Factions in it, both which make the People decline from their ancient Constitutions; *Carthage* at this time was delivered from both these springs of Corruption; because being pressed with a tedious and cruel War, they were all united against the Common Enemy, and being to fight for their preservation, they could not attend the satisfaction of those Lusts which are most petulant against the established Laws. Which *Bomilcar's* impotent ambition not considering, nailed him to the Cross, in stead of fixing him on a Throne.

About this time all the Family of *Alexander* the Great was quite extinguished. His Brother *Aridaus* with his Wife *Eurydice* were killed by his Mother *Olympias*: She afterwards besieged, and by Famine forced to deliver up her self to *Cassander*, was by him murdered. *Roxane* his Wife, with her Son the younger *Alexander*, fell by the same hand; and so also *Hercules* his Son by *Barsine*. His Sister *Cleopatra* was also put to death by the practices of *Antigonus*. So that there remained no Heir unto that great Troubler of the world. And he that had shed so much blood for an empty Name, had nothing but that Name left. His Commanders, who as long as any of these did survive were contented with the portions onely of that Empire, did after their death assume the Name and Majesty of Kings. Which
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Agathocles hearing, the Potter also, who thought himself equal to them in Exploits and Conquests, and not inferiour in Dominion, would also be styled *King*, and wear a Crown as the Ensign of *Majesty*, which he had never before used but as a Priest. But Royalty, which is the reward of Heroick Vertues, may be the Usurpation, yet can never be the Propriety of a Tyrant: the Ensigns may be worn by a vicious bloody Villain, but the Majesty never adorns but a Lawful Just Prince. For Crowns do not create, but elicit that Reverence which the Vertues of the wearer first formed in the minds of men: without which unpress Diadems do but provoke the indignation of the beholders, and upbraid, not honour, the baseness of the Usurper.

The assumption of the Royal Title made no alteration in the nature of *Agathocles*, but in his next enterprize he exceeded his former Inhumanity. For intending to reduce *Utica* that had revolted from him, he suddenly lies down before it, and surprizes three hundred of the Citizens that had employed themselves in the neighbouring Country. By these men he offers oblivion and pardon, if they would return to their Obedience. The Citizens that were sensible of his actions in *Africk*, that his Faith was to be measured by his Lust; that no greater misery could happen to them then
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what they should run into if they did expect his Mercy ; that they should perish if they were conquered, and they must do so if they surrendered ; that there was no choice to be made but this, whether they should lose their blood with scorn and contumely, or spend it in a gallant defence and revenge ; did therefore refuse all Peace with him. When he saw they would not be deluded by false hopes, he endeavours to reduce them by their affections, and would sack the Town by a force upon Nature. For making Engines of wood, on them he hangs the surprized Citizens, under the shelter of whom he sets his own Souldiers, and so brings them close to the Wall : so that whatsoever arms the besieged did direct to kill their Enemies, must first wound their dearest Friends. The *Miscenes* were at first stupified by this inhumane art, and in pity durst not shoot those arrows in their own defence, which would spill the blood of those they desired to save. But the Enemy pressing hard upon them, they preferred Liberty to such a dangerous compassion ; and desiring the Gods to impute the Cruelty to their barbarous Enemy, they for a long time stoutly defended themselves. But their adverse Fates suffered them not long to survive their miserable Friends. For the Town was taken by storm ; which the Tyrant soon fills with the blood and carcasses of the defendants : some he killed in the heat of blood, many he hanged,
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he dragged out and murdered those that fled to the Altars of the Gods for refuge, vainly thinking that he might have some Religion that had devested himself of all Humanity. Thus Tyrants manage their Warres not so much against particular Persons and Cities, as against the Nature of man. Nor did *Agathocles* think it enough to overcome the *Ulicenses*, unless he had also made them pollute their just arms in the blood of their Friends and Kindred. The *Romans* bewailed and cursed those Civil Wars which did expose the Father's life to the sword of the Son, and grieved that the Law of Warre did forbid that punishment which the law of Nature required: (He fell with glory like a Sacrifice for the publick safety, that slew himself when he knew he had killed his Brother) Nor did they more abhorre those vices in their own Citizens, then they did hate them, and scorn to make use of them in their Enemies. For they conceived that no Victory, where Justice and Vertue were not preserved entire. And by their just practices even to their Poes, they overcame those Cities, and subdued those Spirits, which no force of arms could ever have subjected: and one Generous Example of Vertue hath flung open those Gates, which no humane power could have pulled down. Thus *Camillus* received the *Falisci* to obedience; *Fabritius* removed *Pyrrhus* from *Italy*; and *Scipio's* Continency reconciled all *Spain* to the
Roman

Roman Empire. Men more willingly submit to those whom, being owners of so great Vertues, they esteem it an impiety to overcome.

LIB. III.



Gathosles having by these bloody arts, nefarious practices, and force of arms, brought to his obedience almost all *Africa*, and left the Enemy little or nothing but their own City, he neglects the attempting of that, and abuses the obsequiousness of his Fortune in more inconsiderable designs; infatuated in his counsels, and not considering that the Members do more easily follow the Head, then on the contrary the Head the Members: that if *Carthage* had been taken, the inferiour Cities must necessarily have followed her fortune; but that being left free and intire, she might provide for the cure of her wounds, and watch opportunities for the recovery of her Empire. But either the difficulties of assaulting *Carthage*, or the necessities of *Syracuse*, did divert him from such an enterprize, and sollicite him to a return into
Sicily,

Sicily, where the *Free League* had confined his Tyranny within the walls of his own City. For *Xenodicus* had hitherto prospered, and restored the Democratical power to many Cities, and raised up the confident hopes of all the *Sicilians* to live by their own Laws, which is the true foundation of Liberty.

To stop therefore this current of freedome, *Agathocles* hastens into *Sicily* with two thousand Souldiers, leaving the command of his affairs on the Continent to his Son *Archagathus*. At his landing he was entertained with the news of a Victory which his Captains *Leptines* and *Demophilus*, with eight thousand two hundred foot and a thousand two hundred horse, had gotten on *Xenodicus*, who had lost a thousand five hundred of his men, and was forced to shelter himself within the walls of *Agrigentum*. The Tyrant makes use of this Victory, and marches against those Cities that had shaken off his yoke, and with the credit of the former Victory reduces *Himera*, *Selinus* and *Therma*. Then drawing forth before *Centurippa* by night, he was in hope to have surprized it through the practices he had with some of the Citizens: but the plot being discovered, he was forced by the better part of the City, which were not polluted with such infamous Counsels, to retreat with the loss of five hundred of his men. Then being solicited by some perfidious

dious inhabitants of *Apollonia* to come and take their City, before he could reach thither the Conspiratours were discovered and apprehended, and he was disappointed for the first day of his expectation. But the next day, not to depart without some attempt, he assaults the Town, and not without exceeding loss of men he takes it; where killing most of the *Apollonians*, he plundered the whole City, and left it as a monument of his Cruelty.

But the desires of Liberty, though overwhelmed with all these Ruines, were like fires less carefully extinguished, which revive with a greater flame. For the universal hatred of the Tyrant and thirst for Liberty moved *Dinocrates* to be an assertor of the *Free League*; and he appeared like another Rock to dash in pieces the violent successes, and to be a remora to the Tyrant's Security. To *Dinocrates* therefore flocked all such as either desired to be free men, or hated the Tyrant; which were so many, as *Dinocrates's* Army consisted of twenty thousand foot & fifteen hundred horse, all *Veterane* Souldiers, and *Actors* in the late troubles of *Sicily*, accustomed to the discipline & difficulties of Warre, or hardned with the miseries of Banishment. With these he pitches his Camp in an open field, and offers battel to the Tyrant: but he knowing himself too weak to engage, retreats to *Syracuse*, still followed by his da-
ring

ring Enemy; who cuts off his rear, and wins upon him without loss of blood. This was a great obstruction to *Agathocles's* designs: for *wars are managed much by fame, and he that retreats is supposed to fly.*

Together with this check to his affairs in the Island, his fortune wholly declines on the Continent, and that success which had so importunately followed him there, did as suddenly leave him. Where his Army continually wasted both in strength and courage: *Archagathus* either failing in his Father's arts, and the virtues of a Leader; (For an Army is to be valued at the rate of the Commander, whom they will condemn if he be weak, and ignorant of his charge, and so neglect their duty, and become insolent and contumacious) or oppressed with the sins and fates of his Sire; the punishment due to wicked Parents being entailed by the Divine Vengeance on their hateful Children. He soon found his Insolencies undermined that had been built upon his Father's fortune. His first enterprizes were auspicious, but the issue was full of despair. For having sent out a party under the conduct of *Eumachus*, they had mastered many Cities in the upper *Africk* with much slaughter, they had demolished their Walls, captivated and sold the Inhabitants, burnt their Houses, and wasted their Fields, and so proud with Victory and laden

den with Spoils returned to *Tunir*. But being sent out again, the second Expedition proved not so fortunate: for going beyond the bounds of their former Conquests, and setting upon the City *Miltine*, they were from thence driven with exceeding loss. Then turning themselves against the *Pithecusans*, (a kind of people in *Africk* that have their names from the Apes, whom they worship with the same reverence as the *Egyptians* do their Dogs) they took one of their strongest Cities, and the rest yielded. But the *Libyans* awakened with the continual clamours of their wasted Neighbours, gathered into a great body, and forced them with more terrour and less spoil then they had before, to retire towards *Archagathu*, that was now amazed with Ruines on every side.

For the *Carthaginians* by their frequent In-counters arriving to more experience and greater hardiness, and by their many Losses learning safer counsels, had wholly changed their arts and customes of fights. They were now more wary in their engagements, forbore forward onsets, and used the arts of a Veterane Army. For many wars that are too violent in their first fury, vanish by delays: and Armies that cannot charge their Enemies are consumed by their own wants, and waste in their own fury. They likewise resolved no more to venture their whole force in one body, but divided them into three
several

several parties; whereof one was to march by the Sea-coast, the second was appointed to secure the In-land Towns, and the third was employed in the upper *Libya*. By this counsel they secured their City from the dishonour and molestation of a Siege. For the Enemy would not dare to lie down before it, when so many parties were unconquered in the Field. Nor did they fear a storming of it, wherein there was such a multitude, their walls and fortifications very strong, and the Sea affording much protection by washing the foundations of her rampires. Besides, by sending out these Parties they should ease that scarcity of Provision which began to afflict them; all the Country about being wasted by the Warre, and the number of people almost infinite that fled thither for safety from the Cruelty of the *Sicilians*. Their Credit also, which is of great moment in all Wars, would be kept up by having so many Armies in the Field. And lastly, which was of most advantage, it would necessitate their Enemies to divide into so many small Parties, as would be less considerable and easily baffled. All which Ends they did attain. For their Stores were proportionable to their lesser number: Their Confederates now revered that power which could not be spent by so repeated Losses, and were encouraged in their Fidelity, when they saw so powerful a defence ready to protect their faith; so that many who

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before

before were afraid to own any correspondence with them, now freely administered large Succours. And *Archagathus*, as they expected, to keep up his Fathers fame, was forced to break his Army into as many pieces as might obviate the enterprizes of his Enemies: one whereof was to secure the Sea-coast; another was commanded by *Æschrius*; and He himself, leaving a guard at *Tunis*, marched with a third.

Thus all *Africk* was filled with arms, and now raised in expectation of a speedy issue. *Hanno*, that commanded the *Punick* Forces in the In-land expedition, meets with *Æschrius*, and drawing him into an Ambuscade routs him, and kills him with four thousand foot and two hundred horse; those that escaped fled five hundred furlongs, till they came to *Archagathus*. *Himilcon*, that was sent into the upper *Libya*, waits at a certain City for *Eumachus*, who was returning with his Army heavy with plunder. The *Greeks* no sooner came near the *Carthaginian*, but they offered him battel. *Himilcon* refuses not, but knowing their prosperous greediness had made them proud and unwary, intends to assault them by a stratageme; which proved as happy in the event as it had been in the project. For leaving part of his Army in the Town, with orders to sally forth when he began to flie, and

to charge the Enemy in the rear when they pursued him, with the other part he marches forth, and fights the *Greeks* near their own Camp; whence after a small opposition he flies, as if he were worsted. *Enmaclm*, as confident of the Victory, (though he could see little reason for the Enemies so speedy flight, and therefore might have suspected some unusual arts) without any order follows them. Which being seen by that party which was left in the Town, they immediately issued forth with a great noise, by that giving notice to *Himilcon* to stop his flight; and so terrified the *Sicilians*, that they being charged on all sides, and daunted with the surprize, presently fled. But not being able to recover their Camp, the way to it being intercepted by the *Africans*, they drew up on a neighbouring Hill, where there was no water: where their Enemies besieging them, they were partly by thirst and partly by the sword almost all consumed, so that of eight thousand foot, scarce thirty, and of eight hundred horse, not forty escaped to carry the sad news to *Archagathm*, a Person too insolent in his Prosperity with any equality of mind to bear these great Losses. He having this intelligence, draws back all his forces to *Tunis*, gathers up the relicks of the beaten Parties, recalls the other that he had sent out, and fortifies himself, till his Father should come to relieve him, to whom he had sent this afflicting news.

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These great Losses were more dreadful in the consequences; for most of the Confederates that were the friends of the *Syracusans* Fortune, not of his Cause, soon withdrew themselves, and fled farther from his ruines: onely some few that did more fear the *Punic* Revenge then affect the Friendship of the *Greeks*, staid till they might reconcile themselves to the *Carthaginians* by a more reasonable and treacherous Defection. The Enemy also drew up all their forces close to his Camp, both to heighten his necessities and increase his fears. *Himilcon* besieged him so as he could not forage abroad; and *Artabus*, that had the charge of the Sea-coast, came up so close, that he cut off all hopes of relief by Sea. So that the Army not being able to break out, nor having Provisions to sustain them within, raged among themselves, and languished by their own force through want of action. Terror, Famine and Sedition filled the whole Camp; and the baffled Souldiers, as is usual in such distresses, referred their Miseries not to their own Baseness, but to the Vices and Weakness of their Commander. His former Cruelty made him suspected, that he betrayed those Souldiers to the Enemies sword, who would have formerly bathed theirs in his blood for the murder of *Lyciscus*. *Afflicted Spirits are capable of any jealousy*. Though it is probable he had no other guilt then the want of a Commander's Vertues.

Vertues. For by the defects and Vices of a Ruler the most prosperous condition of a Society may be overthrown; as by his Vertues the most oppressed may be easily raised: and there is nothing either good or bad in a Commonwealth, which may not be altered or alleviated by the Vertues of the Prince.

Agathocles hearing the desperate condition of his Army in *Africk*, prepares to hasten thither, to apply some Remedies, and therefore commends his affairs of *Sicily*, which *Dionocrates's* good conduct of the *Free League* had extremely disturbed, to the care and fortune of *Leptines*. And having gotten as many Souldiers as he could aboard seventeen Vessels, he waited for an opportunity to get out of the Haven, that was then blocked up by thirty *Carthaginian* Ships: which was made more prosperous and easie then he could have hoped; for at the same time there had gotten into the Haven by night eighteen Ships which he had hired of the *Tuscans*. Their fortunate coming raised the Tyrant's courage to a resolution of fighting the Enemy. To perform it he commands the *Tuscans* to continue in the Haven, till he had drawn the *Africans* in pursuit after him. So making out with full Sails, the *Carthaginians* made up towards him, and the *Tuscans* after them. *Agathocles*, when he saw the *Tuscans* near the Enemy, turns back

his Vessels upon them also: which unexpected assault both behind and before did so break their spirits, that they thought not of fighting, but of flight; five of their Ships being immediately taken, and the Admiral also ready to be boarded: who to prevent the ignominy and misery of Captivity, presently killed himself. An act more rash then stout. For *it is the temper of a brave Soul alwaies to hope*: which if he had done, he had escaped, as did his Ship, which a brisk wind brought off from the Enemy without any farther loss.

This success at Sea made the passage to *Africk* safe, opened the Trade of *Syracuse*, which was very sensible of her wants, and so raised the Tyrants hopes in his Fortune, that he designs another attempt upon his Enemies at Land. Therefore he commands *Leptines* forth to wast and forage about all the Regions of those Cities that were at feud with him, but especially of *Agrigentum*; where he was informed that the late defeat given to *Xenodiscus* had broken no less his credit then his force; his Adversity having heightened the clamours of an opposite Faction against him, which the envy of his Prosperity had first formed. If *Leptines* therefore could draw him forth to fight, the Tyrant promised himself an assured Victory over a factious Enemy. For *where the Soldiers distrust their General, and he likewise is displeased*.

sed with them, his Orders are disputed, and their Obedience given according to their own counsels: Every one will be ready to command and advise, and none to execute. It is the mutual confidence which begets resolution in all parties, and draws success along with it. Leptines acts according to his instructions, and by fire and sword wasting the Regions of *Agri-gen-tum*, forces into the Town many sad informations where the Enemy was. *Xenodicus*, whom his former fortune and the present odium had made more wary, did forbear any attempts to restrain the fury of the provoking Enemy, nor would he lead his forces to another trial of fortune with those that were so lately their Conquerours, preferring safe counsels with Reason, to rash which onely Chance could make prosperous. He would not hazard the Safety and Liberty of his City for the spoil of the Country, nor gratifie his Enemies so far as to satisfy their expectation by accepting of a Battel. For he considered that though the Number of his men were not inferiour to the Enemy, yet their Courage was, and the Softness of men bred on Sealls and Shops, not to be compared with the hardiness and experience of such that were acquainted with the toils of War. But being pressed on by the Factions of his own Citizens, and continual reproaches of Baseness and Treachery from his own Army, which when it hath laid aside the modesty of

discipline, is extremely impatient of not fighting, he was forced to be the companion of other men's Rashness; and therefore leading out his Army, he did engage the Enemy, and was as soon routed. For those that were so fierce before the encounter, were fearful in the dangers of it, and being more fit for a Sedition, than for a defence of their City, they soon fled, leaving behind them of their fellow-Citizens five hundred foot and fifty horse. Xerodocus with the loss of this Battel lost his Country also; for being continually assaulted with the accusations of his Enemies, he was forced to leave his own City, and by a voluntary exile planted himself at Gela.

These two Victories could not yet make the Tyrant secure, but he designs a more base and bloody upon his own Vassals, who he doubted in his absence might open their gates to receive in *Dinocrates*. Thus wicked men always fear, and expect what they are conscious they do deserve: and though some Tyrants may be safe for a while from the punishment of their Crimes, yet none can ever be secure. To provide therefore against such practices, he projects how he may find out and murder those who were most averse to his Government. In order whereunto he appoints a publick Sacrifice and Feast, in pretence of a Religious gratitude for those two Victories, that so the publick Jol-

liry and excess of Wine might take off that guard which the Vassals of a Tyrant should observe and set upon their words; and provokes them to a greater liberty of speech. By this means he should more indear the Rabble unto him, who commonly receive such publick Feasts as the base price of their Slavery, and esteem such Rejoicings among the blessings of Peace, and as the adequate wages for their many years of Bondage. And besides, he should discover the minds of such as had freer souls, and their inclinations towards him. His Preparations were answerable to his Design, and the whole City being resolved into Mirth, to provoke them to a greater freedom of speech, himself laies aside his Imperial Vestments, plaies the part of a Mimick, and was profuse in Drollery, jeering some of his company, and acting their most ridiculous postures. So that he did tickle the Vulgar rout as much as a Stage-play, or the tricks of Jugglers. And it was usual with him at other times, to come into the publick Conventions and Assemblies without any guard, and there to provoke the laughter of the people by trivial and plebeian jests, and by mocking and personating some of those that were about him. But at this time he made use of all his arts; and the more to excite the petulancy of others, he fell a jeering himself. For taking up in his hands a golden Goblet, he told the people that
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he left not off his Potter's trade till he found the way of making such Pots as those. Glorifying thus in his low beginnings, because it boasted the subtilties of him that had raised himself from such an abject depth to so great an height; or to show how patient he would be of another's liberty in scoffing him, that did make sport with his own Infamy; or, which is most likely, it was in him as in *all that have sinned beyond shame, Ignominy is their last pleasure.* So that he was never moved nor did blush at that which was the fortune of his birth, when he gloried in the wickedness of his life: For when he lay at the Siege of a great Town, the Souldiers in the Garrison (as it is usual to extimulate their adversaries with reproaches, and the Vulgar wits are pleased with petulant scoffs to vex those whom they cannot strike) would call *Agathocles Potter, and Kilneman,* and ask him "*when his trade would furnish him to pay his Souldiers.*" He would unmoved reply, that "*he would doe it as soon as he had taken their Town.*" With such pastime did he entertain his guests.

These tricks of the Tyrant were variously interpreted, according to the humours of the Spectatours. Some that were of a credulous and slavish temper took them for the evidences of a Popular spirit, and a Civil habit of mind, and comparing him with *Dionysius*, he seemed

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more like a just and lawful Prince (whose Right and Innocency is his guard; and who uses the ministry of men for Majesty, not Security) then a Tyrant, to whom Distrust is his greatest and most singular defence. For *Dionysius* was so afraid of giving any opportunity to the people's hate for revenge, that he suffered the hair of his head & beard to grow to an indecent length, because he did not dare to trust his throat to the razor of a Barber; and when it came to be troublesome, he singed it off with a Candle. But this his Successour did seem to them to have more noble arts and freer waies to secure himself and his Empire. Others, who remembered his former Cruelty and Pride, and were acquainted with the arts of Tyrants, did look upon these present practices as very ominous. For *Usurpers never seek to please the people but while they are binding the yoke upon their necks, nor are they ever kind but when they are about to kill.* And as the Tragical Poets never bring the Gods on the Stage, but to make some dismal Catastrophe; so Princes when they descend so low as to practise upon the people by becoming their mockery, some horrid scene is to be acted by them. They esteemed not his appearing in publick without a Guard to be any effect of a Vertuous management of his Power, but rather an insolent triumph over their Liberty, that it might appear he had so debased their spirits, as that they did
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not dare to assault a naked Tyrant. By these and the like discourses every one discovered his judgement; which *Agabocles* either by his own Observation gathered, or by the information of his Spies, persons whose baseness was esteemed beneath caution, whom he had dispersed about among the people, to provoke and watch others to their Ruine. And the number of those in whom he found any footsteps left of their dying Liberty was about five hundred: whom together with some other of the most eminent *Syracusans* he invites to another Feast; and by his Mercenaries murders them, mingling their blood with the wine. Besides the deliverance from so many supposed Enemies, and the seizure of their Wealth, the Tyrant supposed he had gotten another advantage, that by this means he had raised such a Distrust and Jealousie among the Citizens, (which is one of the most especial Arts of Tyrants) that they would not dare to trust one another with any secret practice against him; who had such diligent Observers and so exact Informers, that would betray the most simple speeches of a Feast and Mirth to their inhumane Master. By this appears the curse of Heaven upon that miserable people who are subject to an *Usurping Tyrant*; who, conscious of the greatness of his own Crimes, and that no condition can alleviate the publick hatred towards him, will no less in his joyful then sad times practise

Lives their Miseries. To secure that condition which is prosperous as well as to prevent an approaching Ruine, still habituates him to murder the innocent and oppress the miserable; either his Pride or his Fear driving him to inhumane courses.

After this bloody Feast the Tyrant together with his Son *Herrachidas* hastens to *Africk*, where he finds his Army half famished, all filled with confusion and despair, and capable of nothing but fears. To raise up their Spirits, and relieve their Wants, he would have led them out to some action; but there was no way either for Victory or Plentry, but by first breaking the *Punic* Forces which had block'd up all passes, in such sure defences as were impossible for so profligated an Army to overcome. He therefore applies himself to all those arts which might tempt the Enemy from their Fortifications to give him Battel in the Field, and presents them with many advantages. But the *Carthaginians* that abounded with whatsoever was necessary, cheerful in the fresh remembrance of their late Victories, and faithful among themselves, would not hazard a Battel, to overcome that Enemy who, pressed by wants and weakened with Seditions, would fall by their delays. *Agathocles* when he saw all his attempts made the scorn of his Enemies, that the credit of his Arms was now fallen into contempt, that

Victuals

Victuals did more and more fail in his Camp ; to recover his glory and recall the spirits of his Souldiers, he was resolved to try rash counsels, since good advices succeeded not, and he would force the Enemy in their Trenches. Therefore sick with delay , and impatient of hope , he leads out his Army, which consisted of twelve thousand *Greeks*, as many *Gauls* and *Tuscan*s, ten thousand *Libyans*, who were of no settled faith to either party, and with these he assaults the *Carthaginian* Camp. Though their impatience for their wants, and their dejected spirits were not to be allaiied or raised by any charms of Courage, nor would admit any formall speech ; yet did he, as briefly as he could, while he drew them out, desire them to “ *Remember their former and later Victories ;*
“ *that they now stood upon the theatre of their*
“ *Glory, and trampled upon the ashes and bones*
“ *of the Punick Armies ; therefore now they*
“ *should go with courage, and for ever cut off*
“ *that faithless and conquered Enemy, who did*
“ *confess themselves their vassals, by not daring*
“ *to look upon them in an open Field. They*
“ *were now not so much to think of a Battel, as*
“ *to execute revenge ; and that by taking those*
“ *despicable Prisoners within their own Tents,*
“ *they did scale the Walls of Carthage, put an*
“ *end to that tedious War, and reap the harvest*
“ *of all their toils.* With these sick hopes he led them on to the assault, which the *Carthaginians*

nians were prepared to receive ; and having the advantages of ground, of their works, and the excess in number, did easily repulse the *Sicilians*, who a long time maintained their Charge and followed their attempt, but all in vain. *Agathocles* seeing no hopes, drew off his starved Legions to their own Tents, but was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, who spent all their fury upon the *Greeks* and the other Strangers, but spared the *Libyans*, that by such an indulgence they might be invited to a revolt. They continued the execution as long as the day and their anger lasted, having killed three thousand of the Enemy ; the rest with sorrow and fear got safe to their Camp, where they found the same wants they left, but made more intolerable by their wounds and shame. The loss of this day and the terrours of the following night made the Tyrant quite desperate, and drove him out of *Africk*.

The night following this Battel was unquietly spent in either Camp. The *Africans* proud of the return of their Fortune gave themselves up to Feasts and Sacrifices, and with Songs and triumphant noises made the Valleys and neighbouring Woods to resound their mirth. And, not to provoke their Gods, in an inhumane gratitude they offered up the choicest and comeliest of their Prisoners in a sacrifice to them. While these abominable Victims were consuming

ming on the Altar, a strong wind suddenly arises, and carries the flame to the hangings of their holy Tent, which stood next to the Altar; from thence the flame spread it self to the Generall's Tent, and afterwards catch'd hold of those Tents of the Officers that were nearest to it. This unexpected and violent chance fill'd all with confusion; and many of the Souldiers who endeavoured to quench the flame, or to remove their arms and luggage, were consumed by the fire; for the wind growing higher, had spread it upon the Souldiers huts, which being made of dry earth and thatched with reed, were soon on a flame, so that it became stronger then the Army could master, and many were intercepted in it. Heaven as it were exacting revenge for their Cruelty to the poor Captives, making them perish in those impious flames which they had kindled for others. Those that had gotten out to the sides of the Camp, and from the fire, were incountred with another fear, not so real, but as full of danger. For the *Libyans* that were of *Agathocles's* party, being resolved to leave him with his fortune, and were about five thousand, had just at the time that the fire began, forsaken the Camp at *Tunis*, and were coming to surrender themselves to the *Carthaginians*. These being discovered by the Scouts and Guards, were conceived to be the whole Army of the Enemy coming to assaule their Camp by night, and in this confusion

confusion by the Fire, which their present fears made them imagine he might kindle. This news being spread about the whole Camp, every one thought the Enemy had gotten into the Trenches, and that they were all betrayed; so that no way of safety was presented unto them, but onely flight: which being done without any order or respect had to their Commanders, was so confused, that some for hast broke their necks down the hill upon which their Camp was pitch'd; others were angry at such as stood in their way, and through the darkness of the night not able to discover whether they were Friends or Foes, fell foul one upon another. In this darkness, amazement and confusion, there were many slain, and more wounded; and the number of those that perished was accounted five thousand. They that had escaped all dangers but their fears got safe to *Carthage*, and filled the whole City with terrour, relating the Army to be quite broken, and mingling some truth with their affrighted apprehensions, made all things desperate, yet very uncertain. Therefore they set open their Gates to receive their flying Souldiers, yet carefully watching lest the Enemy should fall into the Town with them. But the day discovered their errors, and mitigated their fears, though it increased their grief and jealousies, when they saw the dead bodies of their Friends, and the ashes of their Tents and goods: they could not conceive it a chance, or refer it

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to Providence, but doubted whether it were not some open Enemy or some false Citizen that had occasioned so much Ruine, it look'd so like a designed Mischief.

On the other side, in the *Sicilian* Camp the remembrance of the overthrow had compos'd all to an horrid sorrow, they had weak and faint fires, a silence like to that of Tombs and Charnel-houses, their few words were low, and without any comfort, the groans of the wounded were the loudest noise, their thoughts various and distracted, walking about their Trenches like men that could not sleep, rather than as such that desired to watch. Their very quiet was dreadful, and presently were they deluded with as vain fears as those that had affrighted the Enemy. For when the revolting *Libyans* did not dare to venture farther in the surrendring of themselves to the *Cartaginians*, because they saw the Fire, and heard that confused noise in their Camp, they returned back towards their former quarters in the *Sicilian* Camp. But their motion being discovered by the Centinels and Scouts, who by reason of the darkness of the night could not discern what they were, the terrour of the past day's overthrow suggested that they were the victorious *Cartaginians* coming to give a Camisade to their Army. This Intelligence was carried to the Tyrant, and the Alarm suddenly passed over the
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the whole Camp. Every one was distracted what course to take. Some were to make good the Works; others were for drawing forth: the most still contradicted the rest, without prescribing what else was to be done. And as it happens in unhappy and disturbed counsels, those things seemed best which they had neither time nor conveniency to act; the continual messages of the affrighted Scouts did disturb their resolutions, and every unusual accident altered and confounded their determinations. By this time the flame of the *Carthaginian* Tents grew more conspicuous, and the exceeding noise which their fears made conveyed them also to the *Sicilian* Camp. Who then thought the Enemy was so near, that it was in vain to deliberate, but all were set upon flight. So impetuously rushing out of their Tents, they leaped over their Trenches which way soever their blind fear did direct them: the noise which their own hast made did perswade them it was the coming on of the Enemies into the Camp, and this doubled their hast, noise and fears. And each one laying hold upon another, either to force them out of the way, or to help themselves forward by their neighbours speed, were conceived as apprehending enemies; and presently were killed by their own fellows. Some were so maddened with their fears, that they knew not which way they ran, nor which to chuse, and driving upon the returning *Libyans*, fell to
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fight with one another as with the Foe. This hurry continued all the night, all which time their terrors and despairs admitted no deliberation or counsel; till the day discovered the mockery of Fortune, and that they had lost four thousand men in this confusion.

The Occurrences of this night did upbraid the weakness of an arm of flesh, when two such potent Armies were routed and driven out of their strengths by a vain and empty Fear, and put to flee when none did pursue; and when either party did fear, they were mutually feared. Prudence doth sometimes alleviate the strokes of Fortune, and a wise management may by good Discipline so confirm the minds of an Army, that premeditated designs and projects of terror may become weak and contemptible even to the surprized. But a coincidence of so many various accidents in such a juncture of time neither can the weak sight of Humanity foresee, nor possibly prevent.

The next day, though the light had shown the *Greeks* the vanity of their fears, yet no less confusion remained on their spirits; they were ashamed of their frights, and unwilling to return to the place of their terror and ignominy, they walked up and down single and heavy, their eyes cast down, weary of company, and afraid to be alone, yet fuller of heaviness than
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shame. *Agathocles* perceived this horror, and thought it no less then madness to oppose such dejected persons to the *Carthaginians* that were insolent with their Victory, the memory of which did with the day restore them fully from the affrightments of the night. Besides, he found all the *Libyans* and his confederate *Africans* had left his hungry Tents and declining Fortune. In those that were left he could have no confidence, all being concerned either in the murder of *Lyciscus* or *Ophellus*; therefore could not hope that either among themselves, much less with him, they could have any agreement, which is the only comfort and alleviation to the conquered. These things considered, the Tyrant was resolved to temporize with his Fortune, and as he fled from the dangers of *Sicily* to the coasts of *Africk*, so now he would save himself in the Island from the dangers of the Continent. But then occurred to his thoughts the impossibility of withdrawing his Army with him. He had neither time nor conveniency of Vessels for so great a charge, nor was the Sea clearer from the triumphs of the Enemy then was the Land. For they had recruited their Navy, and recovered the empire of the Ocean, so that without their good leave he could neither stay nor flee. To make Peace with them in such a low condition of his affairs, was the greater difficulty; for they were so elevated with their present success, that they knew not

how to temper their Felicity by reasonable Conditions to the Authour of their Troubles, and had already threatned such examples of Severity to the first Invaders of *Africk*, as should terrifie the future Ages from their imitation.

Wracked and perplexed with these affrighting considerations, not once entertaining the generous thoughts, that *Adversities are born with greater glory then deserted*; For such are the comforts of unhappy Vertues and innocent Souls; he at last resolved to shift for himself, and to carry onely with him his Son *Heracidas* and some few privado's, ministers of his Lusts, and leave the rest to the malignity of their Destinies and the Cruelty of *Carthage*. He pitied not his eldest Son *Archagathus*; for his haughty soul and wicked attempt upon his Fathers Bed, made the old Tyrant jealous lest if he were preserved longer, he might extend his furious Lust to his Throne, and practise upon his Life. For knowing him to be his own Son, he concluded him no less Ambitious and Perfidious then he was Lustful. Which shews the Inquietude of Tyrants, who when they have murdered all Vertue in others, and by many Crimes secured themselves from the hatred of strangers, yet want not jealousies of their own Children, and are affrighted with dangers from their own bowels; whose good and bad fame are equally dangerous to their cursed Parents. For
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if by honest arts they reconcile the affections of the people, they are then esteemed too popular to live under a Tyranny. And the delays which their Father's lives interpose to their conceived hopes, are judged too importunate to be born by such as are able to cut them off. If the evil dispositions of the Sire are traduced to the Soul of the Son, then do they load the aged Tyrant with more publick hatred, or terrifie him with fears of practising that on him which he hath done on others. And thus was it with *Agathocles*, who would at once rid himself of his Son and Fears.

Archagathus, that knew his Father's nature, and that all Tyrants blot out every impress of Nature, having no affections but for themselves, was very watchful over his actions, and having some suspicions of the design, he communicates his Jealousies to some Captains of the Army, and conspires to intercept his flight. The prodigious baseness of the act easily raised indignation enough to hinder it. That a General should betray his Army, and surrender them up to a provoked Enemy, was a Crime not to be parallel'd. *Archagathus* thought the injustice done to him more full of Cruelty, that he who had ventured his life for his Father's Empire, had been a partner in all his Flights and Miseries, should now be left alone to the Danger, whilst his Brother of lesser merits must be

the onely companion of Safety. Therefore more angry that he had not his part in the Villany then at the Villany it self, he watched to hinder it, desiring to be saved or perish together. So that neither of these Monsters had any natural affection either of a Father or a Son, but either would have provided for his own Safety, though by the blood and infamy of the other. When the Tyrant was ready to take shipping, his Son gives Intelligence thereof to his complices; who meeting together came all to the Tyrant, *"Upbraided him of his base purposes, and charged him not to stir from the place he was in."* Then lest he should first practise upon the Souldiers, and perswade them any thing to their own ruine, (which is no hard task on an unwary multitude) they presently published and aggravated the treachery of the Tyrant, that he would have left his Army without any hopes of succour, order, or means for their safety; whom he had tempted to follow his capricious, and satisfie his thirst of power, through such numerous Dangers, and objected to so bloody an Enemy, he would now barbarously sell, to redeem himself, neglecting the lives and liberties of those whose cartasses, if dead, he was bound to have buried.

The Souldiers when they heard this singular example of Wickedness, and considered the consequences, That none of them should re-
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turn to his Wife and Children, Country and Friends, but like an headless trunk, having no Commander, without life or name, in a strange Land must be the mockery of their Enemies, were amazed, and trembled no less then if the Camp had been taken, and that they were now under the yoke. But then Indignation called them from that Stupidity, and in a great fury they hasted to seize upon the Tyrant, whom they presently clap'd in chains. Then being without any Commander, not knowing whom to chuse or whom to trust, when they had found such Perfidiousness in him whom they had obliged by so long and dangerous an obedience, they were distracted with exceeding fears. For *a Multitude without a Governour is rash, fearful, and mad.* These were increased by the approaching night, and by a strange and uncertain report, that the Enemy were coming on to assault the Camp. The care of the present Danger renewed the memory of the former, and they were frighted almost to madness, and (as it useth to be in such Confusions) every one hastily snatches up his arms, and without any order marches out of the Camp distractedly, leaving their defences, cursing and railing upon *their faithless Leader, the perfidious Agathocles.* The Guard that was upon the Tyrant, no less amazed then the rest, hearing him named, and imagining that the multitude did call upon them to bring their Prisoner forth, did
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immediately lead him into the midst of the Army loaden with chains. This sudden spectacle did strangely affect the minds of the multitude. Some were moved with Pity and Reverence of him who had so long commanded them. [For great employments leave a lustre even upon that person that hath lost them, and Majesty doth accompany those in their distresses whom Fortune hath before proposed to admiration. And sometimes, if they be virtuous persons, they, like the Sun, appear greatest at their setting; and the refraction of a moist cloud of tears doth serve to enlarge their Greatness. *Marinus's* glory in his former commands could not be stifled in the Dungeon at *Minturna*, but once more overcame the *Cimbrian* Slave that was appointed to be his Executioner. *Mithridates's* imprisonment had not so disarmed him, but that the authority of his looks and the memory of his former Empire did affright the *Gaul* that was sent to murder him; till by his own hands he confirmed the trembling Slave to execute the wicked commands of his perfidious Son. Though *Agathocles* had no Vertues that deserved Pity, yet his fortunes did excite a Reverence.] Others moved with the fear of the Enemy, and hope of his Conduct, joined with the rest, and together cried out, that they should take off his Chains, and set him free.

This unexpected mercy and deliverance, together

gether with the miserable sight of the Army's fears and confusions, would have wrought a commiseration in any breast that had had the least sense of humanity, to have provided for the common safety, or obliged to the same fate. But *Perfidiousness acknowledges no Merits, and every Tyrant doth abjure Gratitude and Justice.* Therefore *Agathocles* was no sooner out of his Chains, but while the Army was yet in confusion, and none at leisure to observe him, he makes hast to the shore. And because he had before indangered his own preservation by endeavouring to save one of his Sons, he now hates that natural Affection, and leaves them both to endure the punishments of his Villany, and with some few of his servants gets into a Ship, and undiscovered sails away. The Souldiers hearing of his escape, seize upon both his Sons, with their blood to satisfy for their Father's Crimes. *Archagathus* thought to stop the execution, by asking *Arcefilans*, that was the Tyrant's friend, whom grief and indignation had now made the forwardest to revenge, "What *Agathocles* would doe to his Children that should murder his Sons. The *Syracusan* answered, "it was enough for him that his Children did live some time after *Agathocles's* were slain. And therefore to reap this comfort, he speedily sheaths his sword in *Archagathus's* body. *Heraclidas* was killed by those that had been the Souldiers of *Ophellus*.

phellus. The *Greeks* observed in this execution the exact Justice of Heaven, that in the same moneth and on the same day that *Agathocles* had contrary to all faith and rites of Hospitality murdered *Ophellus*, and seized upon his Army, did he lose his own Army, and had both his Sons slain. Providence like a just Law-giver exacting double punishment for so great a Crime; for he that had wickedly killed one Friend, had two Sons justly destroyed.

Thus having satisfied their Revenge, they provide for their Safety; and therefore chusing new Officers, by them they treat with the *Carthaginians*, and conclude a Peace upon these Articles. "That the *Sicilians* should deliver
 "up all those places which had been taken in
 "Africk. That for the surrender they should
 "receive three hundred talents. That such of
 "them as would serve the State of Carthage
 "should be taken into pay. That those who desired to return to Sicily should be transported
 "thither, and have houses and places to live in
 "assigned to them at Soluns, which was a City
 "of their Dominion in the Island. This Composition was faithfully observed to those that did submit unto it; but such as were left in Garrisons, and would not surrender, vainly hoping the deceitful Tyrant would shortly relieve them, were soon reduced by force. The Captains whereof they crucified, but yoked the

the common Souldiers like beasts, to plough that ground, and repair by their labours that Country, which they had wasted by their arms. This was the issue of the *African War*, which had continued four years; all which time *Carthage* with undaunted courage and various success maintained her Liberty, and laboured to preserve her Empire against a subtle, industrious and bloody Tyrant. And *Agathocles* had the trial of the vicissitudes of all humane affairs, having a long time been the terror of *Africk*: He had broken many Armies, ruined great Cities, depopulated large Countries, moistned the parching Sands with blood, humbled the Pride of *Carthage*, and scarce left them any thing but their own walls; yet was twice a Prisoner to his own Souldiers, and in danger of death from his own Army; and at last blotted out all the honour of his Atchievements by a most cursed Perfidiousness, and too great a desire of Life, deserting a brave Army, betraying his own Sons, ignominiously flying with one Ship and few attendants, trembling in the memory of his Chains and the terrors of his Enemies; as if he had been designed to be the example not onely of the Crimes, but also of the Punishments of a Tyrant.

Stripped of all his forces, with shame and fury *Agathocles* lands in *Sicily*; where, like a dying Viper, his last bites were most fierce:
Ruine

Ruine and destruction of others being the last pleasures of a falling Tyrant. And as if the air and soil of *Africk* (that is fertile of Monsters) had made him more Monster then he was before, that miserable Island felt a sharper fit of Cruelty when he was thus half destroyed, then when he was in his more flourishing fortune. He seemed now not so greedy of the Rewards of Wickedness, as delighted with Wickedness it self; not being more angry that he had lost his own, then that he had not got another's substance, or that every one had not lost as well as he. The first that felt his Inhumanity was the City of *Agesta*, towards which he leads out those Forces he had, and demands a contribution so heavy as would wholly have impoverished the City, though it was great and populous, and had ten thousand families in it. This Injustice did so exasperate the *Agestans*, that they often met among themselves to complain of such usage. "That though they were in Confederacy with him, and so should be willing to relieve the necessities of their Associates; yet were they not his Slaves, that he should conceive all their goods to be his own. They acknowledged that a League with a more potent party was but a kind of Subjection; yet were they not so absolutely to obey, as if they had been conquered by him. The Tyrant was not ignorant of these complaints which their Grief made too frequent, and the hopes of

Mod-

Moderation from a Confederate made too bold.
*For it is safer to resist then to complain of the
Injustice of a Tyrant ; and it is more dangerous
in such counsels to be understood then to attempt.*

Therefore while their thoughts and anger languish'd in complaints onely, he thought it was too great a liberty to be grieved at his commands ; so he pretends that they were forming a Conspiracy against him, and declares that he will be avenged in the Ruine of them and their City. And because he knew them to be innocent, according to the practices of Tyrants, he used them more cruelly, that others might conjecture there was some great Crime by the bitterness of the Punishment. Those that were the poorest of the people, he leads out to the river *Scamander*, and upon the very banks, as if he had had a frolick to colour the streams with blood, he cuts all their throats. The poverty of these men made their passage out of life less irksome. But those that were supposed to be rich he kills with most exquisite Tortures, to make them confess what and where their Money was ; and to make the terrour greater, he had his several Engines of Torment. Some he breaks upon the wheel ; others he bound upon battering Rams, then forcing them off he dash'd them in pieces ; others he makes to die by degrees, and forces death through every member : First he cuts off their Legs, and as
their

their Confessions were slow or quick, or answerable to his ravenous expectation, so he proceeds to the rest, pulling off their Hands, putting out their Eyes; and every degree to death was the more sharp, that they might feel themselves dying, and denied them the comfort of a speedy death. Besides, that he might outgoe all examples of Cruelty that ever the world saw before, in imitation of *Phalaris's* Bull, he made a brazen Bed proportionable to the body of a man, wherein the Wretch that was to be tortured being closed with a grate, and having fire under it, was exceedingly tormented: and by this Engine the Tyrant could feed his eyes by beholding the tortures; and it was a great part of the misery of the Sufferer, to be seen, and see such an horrid Villain triumph in their pains, and urge their Torments. It is some modesty in a Tyrant, if he look not upon that wickedness which he commands. As for the Matrons and rich Widows, he broke their Feet with burning Pincers, pulled off their Breasts, and upon the Loins of Women with child laid bricks to force them to cast their birth. Besides those that did die at the will of the Tyrant, who would rather perish by another's wickedness than by their own, there were many others that scorned the ministry of such cursed hands to set at liberty their free Souls. Of which some burnt themselves, Wives and Children, together with their Wealth, that it might not be

be the prey of the Tyrant. Others embracing the Altars of their Gods, invoking their Justice and Revenge as the last comfort of dying men, did there let out their own blood. And others went and hanged themselves, that they might escape greater miseries. So that by these severall waies there was an end put to that flourishing City. The whole face of the Town was ghastly even to the spoilers; but it was impossible for any thing to check their Covetousness, who in the sad Ruines sought for the Wealth of the destroyed owners: and to increase the gain of his Crimes, he sold the Children and Youth of either sex to the *Italians* for Slaves.

The City being thus depopulated, he appoints it as a refuge for such desperate and needy persons as should desert his Enemies, and come under his subjection. And lastly, he changes the name of the place from *Agesta* to *Dicaopolis*, i. e. *the City of Justice*. This he did either to profane the sacred name of Justice, and shew his Contempt of those eternal Laws of Right and Wrong, by attributing so glorious a title to so horrid a Crime; which is the last pleasure and delight of those that are prodigiously wicked. So Polybius relates of one *Dicaarchus* an *Ætolian*, who being made by *Philip* of *Macedonia* General in an Expedition to break the League that was between the Islands called *Cyclades* and the Cities of *Hellepont*, (a design so apparently abominable, that the Undertaker

Q

dertaker could give no honest account of it) to shew how his soul delighted in the greatest Crimes, and to defie both the Gods and men, before he took shipping, he built two Altars, one to *Impiety*, and another to *Injustice*, and sacrificed to them as to his Deities. But the Historian observes, that in those cruel tortures wherewith he ended his daies, he met with the provoked justice both of God and Man. And so also did *Agathocles*, for from a brand pluck'd out of the fire of this City was he and his whole Family consumed. Or herein the *Syracusan* intended no more then to practise the usual arts of Tyrants, who to divert the Hatred of the present, and the Infamy among future ages, are wont to put the specious names of Religion and Justice upon their most detestable actions, So *Tacitus* observes of *Tiberius*, that he would put upon the new Crimes which his Jealousie or Covetousness objected to others, those names which the Laws had appropriated to great Offences, and so gild his Cruelty and Rapine with the titles of Justice. And as we have seen our modern Tyrants style their attempts to ruine *Piety* the *Propagation of Religion*. Such Cheats indeed do for a time quiet the Vulgar spirits, who more stick upon names then things: yet when discovered, do so much the more increase their Hatred, as they upbraid and abused their Ignorance. And the nobler and more discerning minds think their miseries under Tyrants
the

the greater, by the injuries that are done to *Ver-*
tue and Goodness.

The next Tragedy was acted at *Syracuse*: for while *Agathocles* was busie in these Butcheries, he receives the news of the death of his Sons. He grieved not so much for them, who he suspected were too near his rivals of Empire, but feared lest the kindred and friends of the Souldiers whom he had betraied in *Africk* would be excited by their Example, to attempt that upon the old Wolf, which they had executed upon the Cubs. Therefore by a private messenger he commands his Brother *Antander* speedily to murder the Friends of all those that had followed him into *Africk*, *Antander*, who was of a base temper, and who accounted Cruelty for Valour, did exactly perform the command, and endeavoured to outvy his Brother in blood. For he gathered together for the slaughter, not onely those of their Kindred who were of an age fit to take revenge, but even their aged Parents, that were so near the grave as that they had long lost their Senses: and the sucking Children, that were not capable to know the difference betwixt Slavery and Freedom, the Women also, that could not be feared to overthrow the Tyranny, yet if they had any relation to those whom they desired to grieve, were all driven to the Sea-shore. Where that promiscuous multitude, (that forced Pity from every eye but those of their Butchers,)

Q 2

while

while they did expect the stroke of death, did wash that place with their tears first, that afterwards was to be polluted with their blood; and by their cries and supplications drowned both the noise of the City and the Waves. Thus tortured with the expectation of Death, and the horrid spectacle of their murdered Friends who preceded in the execution, they had at last all their Throats cut, and their bodies were thrown into the Sea; which for a great space was coloured with blood, and the marks of the Cruelty were carried to far-distant Coasts. And, which was most inhumane, none dared to bewail the miserable, nor bury those carcases which the waves refused to hide, but cast back on the shore; lest they should be thought of kin to the murdered, and be forced to the same destiny: so that the Commerce of humane Nature was broke, and Cruelty grew the higher from Commiseration. Upon such actions as these does the security of Usurpers depend; so that those that have had any sense of Vertue or Humanity, do rather chuse to perish in an obscure Privacy, then aim at Power that must be obtained and preserved by so much Impiety, and so great Misery to mankind.

Syracuse and *Agesta* being thus made sensible of the Tyrant's return, who like a dismal Plague brought death and destruction where-soever he went; he goes to all the other Cities that were either under his Dominion, or in Confe-

Confederacy with him, and by extorting Money from them, taking off the suspected, and re-inforcing his Garrisons, he labours to keep them from a Revolt, which either his Wickedness or his contemptible Overthrow might excite them unto. But yet he could not prevent the effect of *misfortunes*, which *shakes the faith and cancels the obligations that are between wicked persons*. For *Pasiphilus*, either by the inconstancy of his nature, or fearing his Master's ruine, and willing therefore to provide for his own safety, did revolt to *Dinocrates*; and, as a pledge of his faith, delivered up to him all those strong holds and forces which he commanded for the Tyrant. This did so strangely affect & injealous *Agathocles*, and present to his fancy such terrible consequences, that mad with fear lest *Pasiphilus* might have more Complices, he thought of quitting the Tyranny, and therefore presently sends to treat with *Dinocrates*, and propounds to him these conditions of Peace.

*"That he would part with his Kingdom, and
 "restore liberty to the Syracusans; That Dino-
 "crates should return to his own City; That
 "there should be granted to Agathocles for his
 "security the two Garrisons of Thermæ and
 "Cephalædium, with the territories thereunto
 "belonging.*

These Articles being divulged, afforded matter of discourse to the *Speculativi*. Some applauded the Moderation of the man, and attri-

buted this prudence of temporizing with his fortune to his long experience in various successes, which uses to render the great Actors in the world more wary, and suspicious of future Events ; and the more prosperous they have been, the less will they permit to Chance. That although he might hope for a change of his present low condition, yet he was also to fear a greater fall. On the other side, some required his Constancy, and wondered at his change from himself ; that whereas in former Perils he seemed alwaies of a present courage and tenacious of hope, yet now he should be so transported with fear, that he did not dare to hazard one encounter for that which he had by such difficult Crimes got, and hitherto preserved. And, which was most strange, that he should despise his own advantages, being still Master of *Syracuse* and many other strong holds, stored with no small Treasure, furnished with a force that was not contemptible in Number, but yet more considerable in Experience and the arts of War. They therefore concluded that he was never endued with true Valour, and that his former resolutions were either but the insolencies of a present fortune, or the eager hopes of a future ; which were but spurious signs, not genuine effects of a brave Generosity. *And as good men prevail by Vertue, so many base persons do sometimes by their Vices.* Another sort judged that all these Overtures of Peace were

were but to conceal more secret practices in his Enemies Army ; that *Dinocrates* had hitherto either basely, or falsely, by various delays, betrayed the seasons of war to his adversaries, and that this Treaty was but to continue him in that negligence. That the Tyrant knew well enough how dangerous it was for a private person to have once born the name of a King, and that such when they part with their power, do abjure their safety : for if not the publick Hatred, yet private Revenge forbids Security. The memory of *Dionysius* was yet fresh ; who when he had lost *Syracuse*, and was besieged in his own Works, and did so despond that he offered to redeem his life with a voluntary Exile out of *Sicily*, was yet encouraged to a pertinacy by his friend *Elorus*, who told him that "*Tyranny was a specious Epitaph* ; and by his Father in law *Megacles*, who dictated this Apophthegm, that "*a Tyrant should rather be drawn by the heels out of his Government, then voluntarily to recede from it*. Which so confirmed that Tyrant, who was in greater distress then the present, that he retained his power, and weathered out the Storm that threatned his shipwreck. That sure this wily Monster was as far from intending what he did offer, as ever his unfaithful Soul used to keep a distance from his Tongue.

The event gave some credit to this last conjecture, for it happened that the Treaty came to

no effect. For whether *Agathocles* did seriously intend it or no, yet *Dinocrates's* Ambition made it frustrate. *Peace cannot please those whose desires are immoderate or corrupt: and the desire of Greatness where it is, extinguishes all other Affections.* *Dinocrates* was no less desirous to be a Monarch than *Agathocles* had been, and was as little pleased that the Democracy should be restored at *Syracuse*, where none that were Great could ever be safe. His present command of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, together with the disposal of all the Cities that were of the League, of which he was called the General, but in truth was little less than the Lord, was not to be parted with for the privacy of Peace, which equally obscures the brave and base, and makes no difference betwixt noble and ignoble Spirits. *Syracuse* was indeed his native City, but she would be no better than his Enemy, that would reduce him to the equality of a Private person, make him obnoxious to the harangues of unquiet Demagogues and the censures of the giddy Rabble. Upon these considerations he was as untoward to admit of Peace as he had been negligent in prosecuting the War, and therefore found out many difficulties in the Treaty. Sometimes he denied the Garisons upon jealousy of his future pretensions: sometimes he urged that he should for ever depart from *Sicily*; and another time he required his Children

dren for hostages. *Agathocles*, though he perceived the drift of the man, and that he should prevail nothing by this Treaty, but make them more eager in requiring what they knew he would deny, did yet continue his practice, that by his Commissioners he might debauch the Army, buy off the faith of some, raise diffidence of their General in others, and stir up Seditions and Factions against him in the several Cities. He insinuates by his agents, that *Dinocrates* did not faithfully intend the liberty of *Sicily*, but sought to have that power in himself which he envied and fought against in another; that he was the great obstruction of the publick Peace and Happiness of every City, by refusing such Articles which a Conquerour would not have denied to the vanquished, and so he neglected the safety of all those Cities whose servant he was.

Whiles he laies these grounds for Victory there, he concludes a Peace with the *Carthaginians*, and delivers up all their Forts and Cities which he had seized upon in *Sicily* for the summe of three hundred talents and two hundred thousand measures of corn. By this composition he was at liberty to employ all his thoughts & forces against the *Free League*, with whom he was resolved to try what his secret arts had done, and offer them a set Battel in the Field, although he had no more then five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, which he did not so much
trust

trust to, as he did unto his own practices, and the Vices of the Enemy. The Confederates were well pleased with the Tyrant's confidence, who seemed to offer up his small number to the swords of twenty five thousand foot and three thousand horse, which was their strength. Therefore both parties did willingly engage at a place called *Gorgium*. The Fight was stoutly maintained on both sides for some time, and the Victory doubtful, whether it should fall where was the greatest Number, or the bravest Courage: but at length the practices of the Tyrant began to work, for two thousand of *Democrates's* Army, that were corrupted by the Treaty, in the very heat of the Battel went over to *Agathocles's* side. Which did both raise the hopes and courage of his party, and so terrifie the other with this unexpected Perfidiousness, that every one doubting whether his next comerade were a friend or foe, they trusted more in their flight then in their companions, and were immediately routed. *Agathocles* would not pursue his flying Enemies, but by a seeming humanity to spare his deceived Countrymen, he sounds a retreat from the slaughter. So that all the horse were gotten safe to *Ambicu*, many of the foot by the benefit of the approaching night escaped quite away: but the greatest part of them that were left in a body together, had possessed themselves of an hill, which they had fortified for their defence.

To

To these the Tyrant offers hopes of Pardon and Peace, lest despair might kindle them to a dangerous obstinacy, Necessity many times forcing men to miraculous acts: therefore by some messengers he desires them to come to a Treaty. "Which as before he had entertained with them only out of a desire of Peace, so now he had no other motives, but by that means to put an end to the miseries of his Country. That although his condition were now better than it was then; yet he knew, how it became not just persons and generous spirits to change their honest desires with success. He had never thought any cause of War could be just against the Sicilians, and that therefore he chose rather to maintain their common interest, and to undergoe so many dangers for them in Africk, to break the Punick yoke; which he had done, had not some that envied the publick Happiness of the Island, distracted him by assaulting his estate here, while he was faithfully serving them there. That now if they were weary of a tedious and fruitless War, and were desirous to return to the comforts of Peace, and the pleasures of their own homes, laying down their arms, they should find a free and safe passage. But if they preferred the hatred of him to all the blessings of Quiet, and would still retain their hostile affections together with their weapons, they must make their way with the sword; and he would extinguish their hate

*“bate of him with their own blood : For they
 “had found (by a sadder experience than he
 “could have wished) that there was no hope of
 “success against him, who with so small an
 “handful of men, through the assistance of the
 “Gods, (without whose favour there could be
 “no prosperity,) had overthrown their mighty
 “Army. The poor wretches, though they
 knew that not any word was true, and had
 many testimonies that not any Promise he
 would make, he did intend to keep, yet because
 they were hopeless of Victory, desirous of Peace,
 and contented with Safety, were easily delu-
 ded by their hopes and fears to try once more
 his faith, and accept what he offered before
 they desired, a readiness which might justly
 have moved their suspicion. For Tyrants are
 never forward to do an act that becomes a ver-
 tuous person, but they intend some horrid Impie-
 ty which would move blushes in a Fury. The
 credulous Souldiers accepting his Oath for a
 safe convoy, left their works and arms upon the
 Hill, and came down to require the perfor-
 mance. When they had thus parted with all
 their means of safety, the Tyrant encompassed
 them about (being to the number of seven thou-
 sand, others say but four thousand) with his
 own Souldiers all armed. Then the miserable
 men perceived themselves cheated to their Ru-
 ine ; when they saw that they were hemm’d in
 by an Enemy insolent with Victory, and ter-
 rible*

rible with their Arms, and they themselves naked, without any instrument either for revenge or defence, they concluded themselves devoted to destruction. Therefore falling upon one another's necks, and shaking one another by the hand, they gave and took the last salutes, each one desiring his Friend and neighbour not to seek a different fortune in a common cause. So invoking Heaven and the injured Gods to revenge their blood, they were in that posture all killed by the command of the perjured Tyrant.

Thus was the Religion of an Oath used by *Agathocles*, and constantly practised by all Usurpers, onely to deceive men whom they fear, should their intentions be open, while they condemn that Deity which they invoke and attest. So that *Perjury is the evidence of base spirits and wicked souls, and never falls upon those that fear no enemy, or reverence any God.* *Regulus* shall be for ever memorable, as long as Piety or Vertue are in the world, that would not break his oath, though made to such enemies who he knew would punish those Vertues which they should have admired, and would reward his reverence of Heaven with such tortures as would have been cruel to beasts. And *Rome* was thought worthy of her Greatness, while she bred up her Citizens in honest arts, and would not suffer the Religion of an Oath to be profaned by any unworthy collusion. For
as

as she needed not such arts of falſeneſs for Empire, ſo would ſhe not permit them to her Citizens for Safety. But they juſtly merit the eternal hatred of mankind, who undermine ſociety and all humane commerce by violating the ſacred obligation of an Oath, either to attain at power, or to ruine an Enemy that cannot be overcome by honeſt courſes.

This great Army being onely by the frauds of the Tyrant thus broken and defeated, ſome few of the Exiles he received to mercy; but they were ſuch as he could not ſuſpect for perillous perſons, whom their fears and not courage had herded among the other champions of Liberty, that would be contented only with Life, though it were under Slavery. And to ſuch Tyrants eaſily permit the enjoyment of their miſery. For *their ſafety is founded on the baſeneſs of their vaſſals; and they are alwaies more in fear of thoſe that are brave and noble, though on their ſide, then of thoſe that are againſt them.* Onely the great wonder among the Greeks was, that *Agathocles* did admit *Dinocrates* to a compoſition, and kept that faith with him which he did with none elſe: and whereas he was ſo jealous of all others whom he had wronged, or that had opposed him, that he never permitted them to live, if he had power to put them to death; yet after ſo long an hoſtility he admitted *Dinocrates* to places of truſt about him, and committed to him the command of ſome of his forces. And their

their faith (if the correspondence that is between faithless persons deserve that name) was preserved inviolable by either to their death. Some thought that the favours and averfions of Princes happened to men, as all other things, by the fate and fortune of their birth. Others conceived that the conformity of their humours, being both ambitious and faithless, had something in their Souls congenial, which might form a friendship, when their interests were not divided. Therefore the Tyrant had dismissed him safe at the Massacre at *Syracuse*, and now received him again into his bosom at the Overthrow at *Gorgium*. For then their Interests did conspire. *Dinocrates*, that was hated for refusing the Peace when it was offered in the Treaty, and suspected by all Cities of the *Free League* for betraying their forces in the last Fight, could not hope for security any where but in the Tyrant's protection: And *Agathocles* doubted not to make use of that man's Courage and Service, whom hatred and suspicions had weakened and disgraced so far as never to be trusted with any designs against him: And using him in all odious enterprizes, he should thereby derive the publick execrations from himself. *Dinocrates* being thus trusted, because he could hope for no advantage in the deceiving of it, was very industrious to reduce to his new Master's obedience all those places whom the desire of Liberty had yet animated to an enmity.

mity. And first he seizes upon *Gela*, and therein takes *Pasiphilus*, that had revolted to him. A person neither constant in his Faith, nor stout in his Perfidiousness. With his blood *Dinocrates* assures *Agathocles* of his unfeigned obedience, and comforts the oppressed *Sicilians*, when they saw one instrument of Slavery had met with his deserts. Afterwards he causes all the Forts and Garisons that had been formerly in his power to be surrendered to the Tyrant's command, and within the space of two years brought under his yoke all the Cities that were disaffected to him.

In the mean while the Tyrant, not to forbear Villany himself, while his Agents were busie in *Sicily*, looks about for other places to act some mischief in. And considering that the Island of *Lipara* through a long Peace was rich and weak, and so could not resist his enterprizes, and yet afford him spoils; he sails thither with his Navy, and surprizing them, requires fifty talents of Silver as the price of their Safety. Although they had provoked him by no Injury, nor owed him any Subjection, yet it was enough that they were not able to resist his Injustice, and had something to inwite his Covetousness. The Islanders paid him as much money as they had in their private or publick Exchequers, and desired a day of payment for the rest. For although there was enough Treasure in their Temples, that was consecrated to their Gods

Gods *Aeolus* and *Vulcan*, as would satisfy the Tyrant's demands; yet had they never been guilty of such a Sacrilege, and therefore would not now pollute their private fortunes, by using the consecrated Money to purchase their Safety, the publick Religion prevailing over their private Interests. The Tyrant that had no Justice in demanding any, would have no Religion to spare so much, and therefore forced away from them and their Gods all the dedicated Treasure that was in their Temples, and carrying it aboard, spread his sails for *Syracuse*. But being overtaken by a great Tempest, he lost eleven of his Ships, which were those that carried the spoils of Sacrilege. The *Lypareans* were a little comforted that their God *Aeolus*, which they imagined was the Deity of the Winds, had (as they thought) revenged his own injuries, and suffered not the *Syracusan* Thief to enjoy the rewards of his Crimes. The *Greeks* also observed that *Vulcan* their God of Fire took his part of revenge in the death of the Monster when he was burnt alive.

So odious were alwaies Sacrilegious persons even to those that knew not the true God, that all men did curiously observe and exceedingly rejoice at the Vengeance of Heaven upon such detestable Malefactors, which very often seized on them in the sight of men. The true God seemed careful to preserve Religion among men, by avenging the injuries that were done even

to false Gods by those that worshipped them as true. This he often did in pity to the deceived world. For without Religion Communities would degenerate into bands of Thieves and herds of beasts, each one preying upon another, and keeping no more faith then necessity could inforce. That Religion may affect the minds of men, and draw them to an admiring obedience and awful reverence of its dictates, it must have that Majesty and Splendour which may work even upon the Carnal part of man, (which is most predominant in the multitude.) The lustre that is most likely to have influence on such, is that wth is derived from the affluence & greatness of those things the world accounts desirable. Therefore the riches of Consecrations & Anathema's have been thought attractive expedients to this purpose; because they are the testimonies of the munificence of Heaven to its Worshippers, who in gratitude have by these returns acknowledged the fountain of all their Wealth and Happiness. So likewise do such oblations commend the pious Examples and Religious actions of past Ages to Posterity, and provoke them to an imitation. The purity of Religion, though it most respects the Rational part, and seats its Throne in the more Intellectual powers, yet doth not disdain the use of such attractives for the inferiour Affections, requiring not onely the Heart, but the Flesh also, to praise the Living God. And although

it expects exact Obedience onely from the purer Spirits, yet it would prevent the contempt of more polluted souls: like wise Law-givers, who frame not their prescriptions for the publick Safety with respect onely to the *Virtues*, but temper them so as they may allure and invite the observance of the dregs of the people. So great is the interest of Religion in the preservation of its dedications, that few or none did ever bare-facedly own this Crime, but endeavoured to elude the peoples zeal, and divert the envy of the sin by some more specious pretext to Piety. That sacrilegious Tyrant who took away his *Jupiter's* Golden Coat, and gave him a woollen, did scoffingly pretend the change was for the God's advantage, because the Gold was too heavy for him in the Summer, and the Wool was more warm for the Winter: and those that imitate him want not their pretexts of a more refined knowledge of a Deity; that Heaven hath no need of our Treasure, and is more delighted with a Spiritual Worship. But yet we shall find none guilty of Sacrilege that are not infamous with other Crimes; who when they have exhausted their own Revenues in the satisfaction of their Lusts, invade the treasures of Religion to supply their wants; or being exceeding covetous, make no difference betwixt things Civil and Divine, and when they have oppressed men with Extortions, provoke Heaven with Expilations: which sooner or la-

ter takes Vengeance on their Injustice, and in their Ruine recovers the Honour of Religion.

Agathocles having lost the Spoils of his impious Voiage, could not rest till he had acted some more prosperous Wickedness. All his thoughts being at present frighted with the sight of the coasts of *Africk*, he now turns his designs to the other shore, and laies his projects for the disturbance of *Italy*. Which being publicly known, the smaller and maritime Cities of that coast that lay most obnoxious to his Invasion and Power sent Ambassadors to treat a Confederacy with him, that by a present Friendship they might prevent a future Subjection. The Tyrant receives the Messengers with all his usual false Careless, puts them in hope of Peace, and entertains them with several diversions, that they might not have leisure to observe his Preparations. Which when they were finished, he invites them to a Supper, and appoints them the next day for Audience. But he that night took shipping, and so transported his Army into *Italy*, while the Cities were altogether unprepared for a Resistance, because they had received no intelligence from their Agents. The first that were assailed were the *Bruttii*, who lost one of their Cities called *Echthra* by the sudden Invasion of the Tyrant; but not discouraged therewith, they with a great power assault him by night, and killing four thousand of his men, force him back to *Syracuse*.

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Not succeeding in his open Force, he tries more close and impious Cheats; for having a design upon the *Crotoniates*, that he might make them secure, he sends a Messenger to *Menedemus*, that then was chief Commander there, and had been his ancient Host, to acquaint him that he had an intent to accompany his Daughter *Lanassa*, whom he had married to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epire*, as far as *Italy* on her way. And therefore desires him not to be suspicious of the Navy which he had provided for the safety and honour of the Bride. And while he intended this soft business of Love, he desired that he might not be troubled by them with any attempts of War. They easily believed him, who did desire it should not be otherwise; and by this security they found themselves altogether unprovided for a Defence, when they saw him lay siege to their City: And after he had made a small battery upon their walls, fearing lest a stout and vain opposition might kindle him to a greater Cruelty, they opened their Gates unto him. Where, as soon as he was entred, he uses the utmost Violence, plundering the whole City, and killing all that were able to bear arms, he sold all the rest for Slaves. Having destroyed this flourishing City, he enters into a Confederacy with the smaller Towns that were upon those coasts, and which maintained themselves by Piracy, to join with them part of his Ships,

and to have his share proportionable in the prizes. Thus he that affected to be a Prince turned Thief, his nature recoiling to the sins of his private condition, when his outward Dignity required nobler practices; as to suppress the common Enemies, as Pirates are, and to maintain the Commerce of Nations. But a Tyrant doth nothing abhorrent from himself, when he plaies a private Thief that was before a publick, and maintains but his former enmity to the nature of Man and Nations. By his publick and private Robberies having recruited himself, he intends a revenge on the *Bruttii* for the late loss he received from them: therefore he invades them again with thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and keeps a strong Navy riding upon their Coast. A Tempest broke and scattered his Navy: but his Land-forces had some success for a time, so that he forced the *Bruttii* to articles of Submission: "*To give six hundred hostages, and to receive his Garrisons into their Cities.*" But the Tyrant no sooner left the Continent, and departed for *Sicily*, but they set upon the Garrisons, kill'd all his Souldiers, and delivered their Hostages, and so shook off his yoke of Slavery, which he was never able to lay upon them again.

Agathocles finding such variety in his single fortune, which sometimes was too liberal, and
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at other times recall'd all her favours by some great toils, like a tempestuous Sea, when one wave snatches that from the shore, which a former had brought to it; he was resolv'd to try what he could doe in conjunction with some potent Ally, whose fortune was more steady. And therefore he sends his Son the younger *Agathocles* to *Demetrius* then King of *Macedonia*, to make a League and Confederacy with him. *Demetrius*, who was not unacquainted of the falshoods of the *Syracusan*, and Fame had not yet suffered a silence of the murdered *Ophelias*, could not expect any assurance from such a Confederate; who having been so often unfaithful, could not without a Miracle be true to any: yet was notwithstanding willing to follow the Tyrant in his own paths, and ruine him by his own arts. *A retaliation so constant to Wickedness, that scarce any one perishes but by the waies he sinn'd.* He therefore entertains the young Tyrant with great blandishments, adorns him with the Royal Purple, and sends him home loaded with magnificent promises and great presents, and with him *Oxythemis* a dexterous Confident of his own; in colour to accommodate the difficulties that might emerge in the Treaty, to project a form of accord, and to keep a good correspondence betwixt his Master and the Tyrant; but in truth to discover the intrigues of the *Syracusan* counsels, and to be a Spy upon the affairs of *Sicily*, to disco-

ver the easiest way of invading it, and to practise the Tyrant to some destructive enterprizes. *Oxythemis* had an handsome reception, and great credit with *Agathocles*, whose humours and inclinations he soon found, and dexterously moved him to renew his attempts against *Carthage*, and follow his pretensions in *Africk*. This he eagerly prosecuted, that so the Tyrant leaving *Sicily*, his Master with more ease might attack it. This seemed to *Agathocles* as the counsel of his Fortune; for he was now free from any Troubles in the Island. *Syracuse* by an open and continued Trade, and some years of Peace, had recovered so much Wealth as defaced all the marks of the former War. He was now strengthened with the new alliance of a powerful Neighbour, whose assistances *Oxythemis* after the *Greek* manner did augment and enlarge. He therefore embraced the design, and made preparations answerable unto it. He had provided two hundred Vessels equipped with all necessary furniture for the transporting of his Forces, and had begun Hostility by intercepting the *Carthaginian* Ships that carried provisions of Corn and other necessaries from *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to *Africk*. But in the very beginnings of his design that Vengeance of Heaven which had been long due unto him did at last take hold of him, and blasted his counsels with his Ruine, which was thus effected.

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The Tyrant being now old, and doubting the chances of War, and the varieties of Fortune, which he had so often experienced, would provide for the Succession in his ill-gotten dominion before he departed from *Sicily*. Those whom propinquity of Blood, the affections of the Tyrant, and the Vulgar report marked out for the Honour, were the younger *Agathocles*, and *Archagathus* the Son of that *Archagathus* that was betrayed by his Father, and slain by the Souldiers in *Africk*. Both these had great hopes and strong expectations to be the heirs of the Empire. The first built his upon the indulgent Affections of the old Tyrant, which he had gained by a specious observance, & continual presence, accompanied with a quiet industry, in all that was commanded, though he were unfit for War, and would wear out daies of action with words of Obedience. Besides, his late Embassie and magnificent reception in *Greece* had made him more splendid, though they were but the arts of the Enemy, not the effects of his Merits. And it is not to be doubted but that *Oxythemis* favoured his choice, whom he saw least able to hinder his Projects. On the other side *Archagathus* founded his pretensions to the Succession because he was General of the Forces, and was now with them about *Ætna*; he had been in several Expeditions, in which by his boldness and generous meen he had got the esteem

esteem of valiant, and the affections of the Souldiery. So that the old Tyrant seemed to hold but a precarious Empire of him, which he could take away at his pleasure. But the obsequiousness of the younger *Agathocles* did over-balance all these Merits in the judgement of his Father. Therefore when *Archagathus* was abroad with the Army, the Tyrant commends his Son *Agathocles* to the obedience of the *Syracusans*, as the future hopes of all their Peace and Safety, and whom he had designed for his Throne. And that he might have the like reverence from the Army, he sends him with a Letter to *Archagathus*, commanding him to deliver up the charge of the Forces into the hands of his Uncle.

Archagathus seeing his hopes deluded, and that all his glorious hazards were fruitless, when the rewards of danger were conferred on him that was never near them; conceives an inexpiable hatred both against his Grandfather and Rival, and resolves to quench it with the blood of both. To this end he sends presently a Messenger to *Mannon* his Correspondent at Court, and with whom he had often treated of dangerous Secrets, and had prepared him for any design he should advise him unto, and desires him to poison the Old Tyrant, and he himself would contrive the death of the Younger. This *Mannon* was a native of *Agesta*,

Ægesta, where *Agathocles* had acted those incredible Cruelties, and in the Ruine of the City was taken with the other youth that were appointed to be sold for Slaves. But the comeliness of his Person had preferred him to the Tyrant's own Lust, who used him as a *Bardacio*. This he took patiently, and seemed to be well pleased with his eniploiment; and to gain the more Credit with the Tyrant and advantage of doing mischief, did glory that he was admitted into the number of his Prince's most beloved Confidents, and professed that the present Benefits had cancell'd the old Injuries. But yet his soul did inwardly burn with a desire of revenge, both for the abuse of his Body, and the destruction of his City, and therefore was watchful and studious of a fit opportunity to accomplish it. *Archagathus* was not ignorant of his Discontents, and had found him a fit engine for such attempts as his defeated hopes did stand in need of. For to enterprize upon a Tyrant by a secret Conspiracy, none are more proper instruments then such as have a charge about their Persons; because they cannot be easily ruined but by those whom they most trust, and none are fitter to be wrought to this then such as have been abused by their Masters in their bodies. And therefore *Aristotle* saith, that many of those hateful Beasts have been dispatch'd out of the world by their forced Patches.

thicks. Besides, he that is to perform it must be a person of a firm spirit, made so either by Nature or Passion, and resolved either for Death or Revenge. *Manon* had all these requisites, and therefore receiving the summons, prepares for his work, and acts it about the same time that his Correspondent had finish'd his.

For *Archagathus* not shewing any signs of Discontent, but professing a ready submission to the Command of his Old, and the pleasures of his New King, invites his Uncle to a Sacrifice, (wherein he used his Grandfather's method, of making Religion the preface to Villany) in an Island somewhat distant from the quarters of the Army, and there making him drunk he cuts his throat, and casts his dead body into the Sea. As if he would appease it for the pollutions of the Old Tyrant, who had often defiled it with the carcases of murdered innocents. But the waves cast it back to the shore, and it being known to the Inhabitants, was taken up and conveyed to *Syracuse*, there to vex the eyes and soul of his inhumane Father, who by this time also felt the approaches of death. For *Agathocles* being accustomed to pick his teeth after Supper, rising from table called for his Pick-tooth, which *Manon*, whose office it was to provide it, had anointed with a most mortal poison. The Tyrant using

it with a great deal of eagerness, had soon rubbed all his gummies with it, and immediately felt those exceeding pains which may be easily imagined were in parts of so tender a sense when infected with poison: while *Mann* escaped, and got safe to *Archagathus*.

The Tyrant's Disease every day increased, and his Body suffering more bitter pangs than ever his most sagacious Cruelty could have invented for his injured Vassals, his Soul also had its share of torment in the news and sight of the slain body of his beloved Son. Heaven as it were providing tortures for every Faculty and Passion. His Grief was raised in considering the great loss of him in whom he thought to have established his Empire, perpetuated his Name, and who, he conceived, would have been a support to the weaker branches of his Family, that now must all perish and be exposed to Ruine! His Indignation swell'd high at the too near imitation of his own Wickedness, and that his Grandchild should revenge the mischiefs he had done to his accursed Generation: That all the rewards of his Perjury and Blood, and the fruits of all his Cares and Toils should be snatch'd away from him in a moment, and while he lived to see and hear it. To be taken off also in the midst of those great Designs which he had projected, and die now, though not at the command, yet
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at the pleasure and desire of all his Enemies, filled him with more Fury then could be expressed. And to all these we may add those horrid tortures which the sage and vertuous *Greeks* affirmed do arise in every Tyrant's breast, from the memory of their past Crimes, when every Vice makes an incurable and insufferable wound, not to be healed or asswaged with the softest Pleasures; when the Tribunals that remain after this life, though to a constant Felicity they appear but like the vanities of a troublesome Dream, yet in the impetuous approach of Death are dressed and armed with real Terrours. We cannot but judge this Tyrant and all such as imitate him have misery enough in their Ends, to make their ignominious Honours and uncertain Greatness to be unenvied by the most impotent spirits.

Wracked thus in Soul and Body, which were both unequal to such cruel Pangs, and could not last long under the execution, the poisonous humour having invaded every nerve and member, and made an intestine war between life and death; his Mind also torn a pieces with various Lusts and Passions, agreeing neither with it self nor with the Body, but in common Miseries, and either's pains increased with the other's tortures: he was perplexed with another care, how to secure his two youngest

gest Children with their Mother *Theagena*; a Woman that was venerable no less for her Vertues then for her Beauty, had no other Crime but that she was his Wife, and yet made her self more eminent by this his Fortune. For *he well knew that one Wickedness was to be secured by another*; and that he which had conspired the death of the Father, would not suffer the Children to grow up to a revenge, nor permit the Wife with her tears to keep alive the hatred of her Husbands murderer, but either divert her Grief with her Dishonour, or overwhelm it with her Blood. He therefore desires her to secure her self and the common pledges of their love in *Egypt*, from whence he had married her, and to take with her all his Riches, the Jewels and ornaments of his former Greatness, and the spoils of oppressed and injured Nations, to be their subsistence in an adverse Fortune, and to leave the prey of his Kingdome as poor as he could to his violent Successour. That the Tyrant might want no vexation, even the Piety of his Wife was another affliction to him, who denied to obey such ungrateful commands, and desired that

*"She might not be divorced from him till death
 "had sealed the bill, that her departure might
 "not be as infamous as was the Parricide
 "of another; for she should seem no less in-
 "humane in leaving her miserable Husband,
 "then he was in murdering his Grandfather.*

"She

"She could not forget the laws of wedlock,
 "though He had rased out the dictates of Na-
 "ture; for She had contracted as well with his
 "adverse as prosperous fortunes. Nor would
 "she be unwilling to perform her last office, of
 "receiving the expiring groans of her dying
 "Husband, and taking care for his honoura-
 "ble Exequies, though she lived no longer to
 "mourn for him, and were buried in the same
 "grave with him. This undeserved Piety,
 and the tears of his Children, increased the
 distracting sorrows of him that was forced
 from longer enjoying so rare an example of
 Love, and could not express any gratitude for
 it, but bequeath Misery to Her and her's. This
 drew an abundance of unfeigned tears to re-
 pay her last kisses. And when his Children
 bewailed their tortured Father, he mourns over
 their unkind Destinies, who being educated
 in the supremest fortune, were now to be expo-
 sed to the extremest Dangers. But when for a
 long time all sought comforts from one ano-
 ther, and none could give, Necessity separated
 them, and the Tyrant was left a miserable
 spectacle to every eye, but to such as had been
 witnesses of his own Cruelty.

After they were gone, and with them all
 the comforts of his Life, he sought for some
 in his Death by revenge. For though all things
 were consumed in him, yet his Cruelty strived

to be immortal. Therefore calling an Assembly of the people, his bloody Soul belched forth through his perjured mouth (where almost all the instruments of Speech were corrupted by the Poison) some half-formed words of Cruelty and Revenge. Inveighing against the Impiety of *Archagathus*, he desired the *Syracusans* "not to let such a cursed Example, which might ruine both private Families and Commonwealths, to pass unpunished; and that they might doe this, he restores to them their Liberty, and declares them a free State. A liberality that Tyrants are never guilty of, but when they cannot keep the power in themselves. Nor did he intend it as a Benefit, but to engage them in Wars; which with all the consequents should force them to those sorrows after his Death which he knew they would not have for it; and that a continued presence of Miseries might make those seem lighter which were past, and the hatred of a living Enemy might alleviate the infamy of a deceased Oppressor. Besides, the habits of Cruelty contracted by Tyrants do make them so unsatiable of blood, and so delighted in publick Calamities, that as by them their Lives and Greatness were maintained, so would they have their Deaths comforted. He that had made the whole *Roman* Empire the Stage of his Cruelty, desired that the world might fall

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together with him. *Herod*, that had polluted all his Kingdome with Massacres, to temper the people's joy at his Death, would have had some hundreds of the most eminent *Jews* to be slain at his expiring, that so every Family might have something to bewail, and shed tears at his decease. So *Agathocles* (for all Tyrants live and die with the like affections) would have intailed Calamities to the miserable *Syracusans*.

The Tyrant's Tortures still increasing, and Vengeance pursuing him with so slow a pace, as if it had intended to return his own arts of Cruelty upon himself, he lived for some time an horror to himself, and a loathed burden to all that were about him: and having no Friend to provide for the decency of his departure, or by some care to alleviate his Pains, when the tumours of the poisonous humour had hindred his Voice, so that neither his Complaints nor Threatnings could be understood, *Oxythemis* the *Macedonian* spy, and the *Syracusan's* false Friend, together with his tired Attendants, laid him before he was dead upon his funeral Pile, and burnt him alive. As soon as he was dead, the *Syracusans* pulled down and broke all his Statues; seized upon his Goods and sold them, and then did by proclamation declare themselves a free People,
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and return to their Democratical Government. Thus after he had enslaved his own City twenty eight years, in the seventy second year of his age he came to such a miserable end as his hateful Crimes and Impieties deserved; and not onely the Revenge of Men, but the Justice of Heaven did appear in his Destruction.

The lineaments and proportion of his Body are not recorded by Historians, onely by the sins of his youth it appears that it was a moving object of the Lusts of others, and that it was too fair a fabrick for so wicked a Soul. His actions give us the fullest character of the temper of his Mind. He was quick and apprehensive of every expedient for his enterprizes, industrious and bold in the execution; fitted for Glory, if he had minded Vertue; powerful to perswade, but without Faith in his Promises, or Truth in his Asseverations; adapted to reconcile the Affections of men to himself, but not careful to preserve their Love or continue their Friendship any longer then he had an opportunity to injure those that embraced him; insatiably greedy of Greatness, but a despiser of an honest Fame; of such easie and ductile Passions, that he could temper and compose them according to the necessities of his Designs, and put on whatsoever

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shape

shape his present Interest required. He was of an obstinate silence to conceal his own Projects, but perspicacious of the counsels of his Enemies. He was not nice of any Sin, nor fearful of any Ignominy. With all the methods to Tyranny he was acquainted; and wanted not, in an unquiet City, fortunate opportunities of attaining Power. But his Crimes were greater than his Power, and more prodigious than his Fortune: so that he seemed to be born for the destruction of men and ruine of Cities. For from the time that he began to appear as considerable in the World, that Age and the Scene whereon he acted was horrid with various Miseries, terrible, and wasted by many Battels, rent in pieces with diverse Factions, and even in Peace was full of Cruelty. Desarts were filled with banish'd persons, the Sea infected with blood, and the Rocks polluted with the putrifying carcasses of slaughtered Innocents: the Cities of *Sicily*, *Africk* and *Italy* defiled with the frequent Murders of their own Citizens, deformed by many Rapines and Spoils, and some of them buried in their own Ashes. Nor was his barbarous rage satisfied with the vexations and tortures of men in their Bodies and Fortunes; but being insatiable with the Miseries of Mankind, he endeavoured to deprive them of the comforts of Religion; by murdering the miserable suppli-
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ants at the Altars of their Gods, rasing down their Temples, and sacrilegiously despoiling the Sacred treasures of the testimonies of the Piety of former Ages, he discouraged the future from the worship of their God. He did extirpate all sense of Vertue, by imputing it for a capital Crime; and the glorious acquisition of the People's love by honest arts and generous actions was esteemed by him as a mark for Ruine. Treachery and Perfidiousness were the onely qualities he loved as Vertues in himself, and rewarded in others. He attempted the extinguishing of all Natural affection: To bewail the unhappiness of a tortured Friend was accounted as a design of Revenge and practice of Revolt from the unjust commander. Therefore the tears of pity were mingled with the blood of the compassionate; the Children were murdered that the Father might not perish by a single death. He exposed the Son to the arrow of the Father, and offered the Brother to the Brother's sword.

As his life was spent in these hateful Crimes, so was it ended in horrid tortures, and he could not be said to Die, but to be driven out of the world, and forced from among the Living, after he had lived to see his curst Issue part miserably perish'd, and part exposed to a

certain destruction. Two of his Sons he himself had betrayed to the fury of an injured & deserted Army. His third Son was murdered when he had proposed him to Empire, and his slaughtered carcass brought to increase the torments of his Soul. His younger Children, who had lived no longer then to be made sensible of the height from which they had fallen, were forced with their Mother to the dangers of Exile, and to perish in an obscure fortune. *Archagathus* his grandchild fell, not long after him, by the same Instrument which he had solicited to his destruction. For *Manon* proud with the success of having destroyed the Old Tyrant, resolved to kill the Young one also: therefore applying himself to the usual arts and waits of alluring the multitude, which are seldome good, he got such a power in the Army, that he slew *Archagathus*, assumed his Command, and would have imposed himself as a Prince upon the People. But the *Syracusans*, that had under the former Tyrant felt the extremest bondage, and since his death tasted the sweetness of Liberty, were tenacious of it, and hoped to maintain it. They therefore sent out their *Prætor Nicetas* with an Army to oppose *Manon*. Who doubting his own Forces were too weak for those of the People, followed the practices of his Corruptor, and called the *Carthaginians* to his assistance:

tance : and so engaged the *Syracusans* in a series of Wars, till *Hiero* did become their Prince, who in his private fortune wanted no requisite of a King but a Kingdom, and under him they found the benefits of a lawful Government, and that Liberty is best secured under a Just Prince.

*Fallitur, egregio quisquis sub Principe credit
Servitium: Nunquam Libertas gratior extat
Quam sub Rege pio—*

FINIS.
